

AN EXCHANGE THEORY ANALYSIS OF SEX ROLE PERCEPTIONS
AND ENACTMENTS

By

JAMIE McCREARY YOCKEY

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To those whose constant caring make life beautiful...

especially

Mother and Dad

Bob and Florence

and

Bob

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	iii
LIST OF TABLES.	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT.	xi
 CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
Role Theory.	3
Exchange Theory.	12
Sex Roles and Perceived Outcomes	23
Hypotheses	26
II METHODOLOGY.	39
Subjects	39
Procedure.	40
Materials.	46
Equipment.	46
Pretest.	46
Sex Role Enactments.	51
Post-Experimental Questionnaire.	53
III RESULTS.	54
The Reliability and Validity of the Data	54
Manipulation Checks.	54
The Effect of the Pretester.	56
Inter-Rater Reliability.	58
Summary.	58
Overview of the Analysis	58
The Content of Sex Role Perceptions.	59
Hypothesis 1	64
Hypothesis 2	67

CHAPTER		Page
	The Complexity of Sex Role Perceptions	70
	Hypothesis 3	70
	Hypothesis 4	73
	Hypothesis 5	75
	The Relationship Between Sex Role Perceptions and Enactments	75
	Hypothesis 6	76
	Hypothesis 7	76
	Hypothesis 8	79
	Hypothesis 9	87
IV	DISCUSSION	95
	The Content of Sex Role Perceptions.	95
	Summary.	97
	The Complexity of Sex Role Perceptions	98
	Summary.	100
	Sex Role Enactments.	100
	Summary.	105
	A Social Learning Theory Interpretation.	106
	Directions for Future Research	108
	APPENDICES.	111
	APPENDIX	
	A INSTRUCTIONS USED IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION.	112
	B TASKS USED IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION	115
	C MATERIALS USED TO CONSTRUCT THE PRETEST.	118
	D DEFINITIONS AND BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS USED IN COUNTING AND RATING SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS	126
	E POST-EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE.	131
	F ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLES.	135
	REFERENCES.	158
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	166

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION SCALE	49
2	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS IN THE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION GROUPS FOR SOCIAL, WORK, AND COMBINED SCORES.	60
3	MEAN PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND MEAN PERCEIVED OUTCOME FOR SEX ROLE CHARACTERISTICS IN SOCIAL AND WORK SITUATIONS	61
4	MEAN PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, SEX ROLE PERCEPTION, AND SITUATION	74
5	MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR AND ORDER OF INTERACTION. . .	80
6	MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND ORDER OF INTERACTION	85
7	MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR.	89
8	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SEX OF PRETESTER, SITUATION, AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC.	136
9	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS, SITUATION, AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC	137
10	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, SITUATION, AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC.	138

TABLE		Page
11	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR CHARACTERISTIC, SITUATIONAL, AND OVERALL COMPLEXITY AS A FUNCTION OF SEX ROLE PERCEPTION	139
12	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, SEX ROLE PERCEPTION, AND SITUATION.	140
13	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, SITUATION, AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC	141
14	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR TOLERANCE FOR COMPLEXITY AS A FUNCTION OF SEX OF PRETESTER, SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, AND CHARACTERISTIC COMPLEXITY.	142
15	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR TOLERANCE FOR COMPLEXITY AS A FUNCTION OF SEX OF PRETESTER AND OVERALL COMPLEXITY. . .	143
16	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION OF PERCEIVED OUTCOME	144
17	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION OF PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS	145
18	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION OF TAPE HEARD DURING THE EXPERIMENT.	146
19	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATION AND EXTENT TO WHICH INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS ARE PERFORMED DURING THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION.	147
20	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF THE PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION	148
21	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF THE PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION.	149
22	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION.	150

TABLE		Page
23	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION	151
24	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND ORDER OF INTERACTION. .	152
25	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND ORDER OF INTERACTION.	153
26	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR	154
27	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR	155
28	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR.	156
29	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR.	157

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1 Schematic Presentation of Procedure.	41
2 Mean Perceived Appropriateness as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic	63
3 Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic	65
4 Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Perceived Appropriateness.	66
5 Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Comparison Level and Sex Characteristic	69
6 Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Situational Complexity and Situation	72
7 Mean Sex Role Enactment as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic	77
8 Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of the Publicness of the Interaction.	81
9 Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Amount of Prior Approval	83
10 Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of Amount of Prior Approval	86
11 Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level	90

FIGURE		Page
12	Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Expected Rewarded Behavior.	92
13	Mean Number of Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Order of Interaction.	93
14	Mean Number of Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Amount of Prior Approval	94

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By

Jamie McCreary Yockey

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Chairman: Marvin E. Shaw
Co-chairman: Lawrence J. Severy
Major Department: Psychology

Exchange theorists have suggested that role expectations function to reduce conflict in interpersonal relations and to facilitate interaction in novel situations. However, individuals in the same social position may vary in their individual beliefs about appropriate behaviors, and in the extent to which actual behavior conforms to role perceptions. This study investigated factors influencing the content and complexity of role perceptions and the relationship between role perceptions and enactments.

It was suggested that role perceptions serve an important function for the individual by reducing costs and augmenting satisfaction for that actor in interpersonal settings. Role perceptions were expected to reflect behavior patterns generally resulting in high outcomes for the actor and, as such, to be used as guidelines for behavior in novel settings. Although role perceptions serve as general guidelines, actual behavior may be influenced by other factors as well. It was proposed that role perceptions are more influential in interactions


occurring in novel situations and decrease in importance as information concerning the outcome matrix increases. Moreover, it was also suggested that outcome levels influence the complexity of role perceptions.

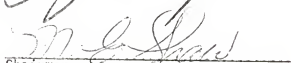
Sex role perceptions and enactments of 160 female college students were examined. First, the women completed a pretest which ostensibly had no relationship to the study for which they had volunteered. A confederate posing as a member of another survey team studying women's roles contacted the subjects and asked them to complete a questionnaire containing measures of sex role perceptions, expected outcomes, subjective utility of outcomes, comparison level, and tolerance for complexity.

When the women reported for the actual experiment, they participated in two group problem solving sessions with male confederates. The perceived publicness of the interaction was manipulated prior to the first task, and in the first session subjects received either approval or disapproval from the confederate. Both a social and a work interaction with the second confederate were videotaped and raters counted the number of sex role behaviors in each situation. Prior to interacting with the second male, subjects heard a tape in which he approved of the performance of either masculine or feminine behaviors in a work setting. These tapes were designed to be either consistent or inconsistent with the subjects' sex role perceptions.

The results of the study clearly support a social reinforcement orientation to role perceptions and enactments. The data are consistent with an exchange theory interpretation, and suggest that behavioral

outcomes influence both beliefs concerning appropriate behavior patterns and the performance of role related behaviors. Although the data do not support several of the specific hypotheses in the study, a trend in support of exchange theory is evident. Behaviors included in the sex role perception are those that a woman sees as producing relatively high outcome levels, and these behaviors are more likely than others to be performed in an unstructured interaction. Moreover, sex role enactments are also influenced by the possibilities for attaining high outcomes in each specific interaction and the past outcome history of the woman. Although some data relevant to role complexity support an exchange interpretation, problems with the operationalization of the concept of role complexity preclude drawing any conclusions concerning its validity.


Chairman


Chairman

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Role expectations constitute societal beliefs concerning appropriate behaviors for specific groups of persons. These expectations are generally differentiated by both the nature of the situation and the societal position of the actor. It has been suggested that role expectations function to reduce conflict in interpersonal relations and to facilitate interaction in strange or ambiguous settings (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Although these expectations represent the most prevalent belief patterns in a society, there is never complete consensus concerning the most appropriate set of behaviors for occupants of a social position. Especially when role expectations are changing or ambiguous, persons in the same social position often vary greatly in their individual beliefs concerning appropriate behaviors and in the extent to which their actual behavior conforms to societal role expectations (Warren, 1949). This study is concerned with factors influencing role perceptions and with the relationship between these beliefs and actual behavior in social and work situations.

In addition to agreeing that role expectations have functional value for a society, the present study suggests that role perceptions also serve an important function on the individual or psychological level. It is proposed that an actor's beliefs concerning behaviors

appropriate to those in his or her own social position operate to reduce costs and augment satisfaction for that actor in interpersonal situations. Role perceptions, it is suggested, reflect patterns of behavior which generally result in high outcomes for the actor and, as such, are used as guidelines for behavior in new and ambiguous settings. An actor's role perceptions, then, can be seen as comprised of those behaviors the individual perceives as yielding relatively high outcomes in settings relevant to that social position.

Although role perceptions can be seen as general guidelines for behavior, actual behavior at any point in time is influenced by many other factors as well. For instance, the actor's personality and knowledge of specific outcomes available to him in the situation are also important. It is suggested that role perceptions are more influential in interactions occurring in new and ambiguous settings and decrease in importance as information concerning outcomes available in the situation increases. That is, the more information an actor has concerning the actual outcome matrix in operation, the less likely he is to rely on general guidelines for achieving high outcomes.

Since sex role expectations in American society are currently quite ambiguous (Angrist, 1969; Rappaport, Payne & Steinmann, 1970b), it is likely that consensus concerning appropriate behaviors for men and women is low at this point in time. Therefore, a good opportunity exists in this area for examining the nature and operation of role perceptions and enactments. This study employs role theory and exchange

theory to examine the content and complexity of sex role perceptions and the relationship between these perceptions and enactments.

Role Theory

Role theory constitutes a widely used perspective in social psychological research. Although not a theory in the strictest sense since it does not provide a set of interrelated propositions (Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Shaw & Costanzo, 1971), the concepts embedded in role theory have been widely used in social science literature. The concept of role itself is perhaps the most significant contribution role theory has made to social psychology.

The term role first originated in the theatre but was used as early as the late 1800's to describe human social behavior (Biddle & Thomas, 1966). It was not until the 1930's, however, that the concept became an area of concern for social scientists. At this time role behaviors were generally considered to be those associated with a group of persons, but there was some disagreement as to the best use of the concept. In fact, this controversy still exists today despite numerous attempts at clarifying the issues (e.g., Banton, 1965; Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Neiman & Hughes, 1951; Rommetveit, 1954; Sarbin, 1954; Sarbin & Allen, 1969).

Three individuals central to early discussions of the role concept were Mead, Moreno and Linton. Mead (1934) focused his attention on the process of role taking which involved symbolically taking the place or assuming the attitude of another person. Mead considered role taking to be a learned ability which enabled an individual to view the self

as an object and, moreover, to predict the intentions and behavior of others. It could be said that, by implication, Mead defined a role as a set of attitudes and behaviors typical of a person or group of persons. During the same period of time, Moreno (1953) developed the notion of role playing, which involved the actual adoption or acting out of a set of behavior associated with a social position. In comparison to role taking, his approach was less cognitive, more action oriented, and allowed for more interpretation and spontaneity in acting out the standards for behavior (Coutu, 1951). Although greatly different from that of Mead, Moreno's work can be seen in retrospect as an extension of Mead's ideas as it provides a means of explaining how the role taking ability develops during childhood and how a role may emerge in an individual's personality (Sarbin, 1943).

Linton's (1936, 1947) contribution to the development of the concept, possibly the most influential in social psychology, was the linking of an individual's behavior with that person's position in the social structure. Linton saw status, or position, as a collection of rights and duties attributed to a group of persons and he considered role to be the dynamic aspect of status. That is, role represented the performance of rights and duties by a class of persons. His discussions of roles also emphasized that they involve both the attitudes and behavior of the actor and that they represent ideal patterns that served to make the behavior of one actor congruous with that of another.

Linton's conceptualization of role provided a basis for considerable discussion of the relationship between behavior and social positions in the twenty years following his work on the topic. Three more recent writers, Newcomb, Parsons and Goffman, view roles as expectations for the behavior of those in social positions, and each has provided a unique perspective on the issue. Newcomb (1949) noted the situational aspect of roles and, in contrast to others, emphasized roles in smaller groups operating within the larger social system. Parsons viewed roles in reference to the social structure as a whole and stressed that roles are institutionalized within a society and are integrated with its overall value orientation (Parsons & Shils, 1951). Goffman (1959) somewhat deemphasized the relationship between roles and the social structure in that he did not believe this to be the most essential aspect of a role. Instead he viewed a role as a script on which an actor could base his or her performance and thus manage the audience's impression.

Because the concept of role has often been used without explicitly defining it, a number of ambiguities have arisen concerning the actual meaning of the term. Some elements of commonality can be found in most implicit definitions of the concept, however, and these have been noted by several theorists in the field (Banton, 1965; Gross, Mason & McEachern, 1958; Neiman & Hughes, 1951). For example, the notion that the behavior of an individual actor is influenced by his social location or position and by the nature of the situation is central to most discussions of the concept. Likewise, most theorists agree that role behavior occurs with

reference to a set of expectations or norms which exist either within the actor himself or in his social milieu.

Despite these two threads of commonality, a standard definition of role is far from a reality. One reason for this continued ambiguity is that the concept of role may be multidimensional and most clearly defined via several concepts. Many theorists have suggested a sub-division of the concept by proposing that societal expectations, individual perceptions, and actual behavior be considered as three separate components or behavior classes related to the role concept (Allport, 1961; Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Gross et al., 1958; Levinson, 1959; Rommetveit, 1954; Sarbin, 1954; Sarbin & Allen, 1969). These three behavior classes were labeled prescription, description and action, respectively by Biddle and Thomas (1966).

The prescriptive component of role deals with expectations existing within a social group for the behavior of actors in social settings. These expectations may simply be predictive or, more commonly, may carry normative connotations. In other words, although role expectations may refer to what probably will happen, they more often specify what, according to societal standards, should happen. Role expectations constitute general or group beliefs rather than the beliefs of any individual member and are commonly differentiated according to the social position of the actor and the nature of the situation.

Since role expectations are actually norms for behavior, conformity to these standards is encouraged through the operation of both positive and negative sanctions. Because of this fact, role expectations may

influence both role enactments, or behavior, and the role perceptions of individual actors in a social system. Role expectations may be seen as the working base on which other components of the role concept are built.

The descriptive component of role denotes the manner in which norms for behavior are defined and described by an individual actor. The term role perception is used in the present discussion to refer to this component of the concept, although the term role conception has often been used in a similar manner. Despite the fact that general beliefs exist in a society or group concerning behaviors expected of those in various social positions, individual perceptions as to appropriate behavior may vary. Role expectations undoubtedly influence an actor's beliefs but role perceptions are not simply reflections of societal standards. Biddle and Thomas (1966) differed with this view in that they saw role perceptions as covertly held descriptions of role behavior without evaluative or affective overtones. In other words, they considered role perceptions to be straight descriptions of societal standards. However, the concept holds more utility for research if viewed as a personal belief which may differ from the general belief and which may result from an evaluation of the group role expectation by the individual actor.

Since a role perception constitutes an individual belief concerning what behaviors are appropriate for those in a social position, an actor will have perceptions concerning not only his or her own role, but also of the roles of other members in the group or social system. However, only the perception of one's own role will be examined in this study.

The action component of role is usually labeled role performance, behavior, or enactment. The term role enactment is used in the present discussion to refer to overt behavior patterns typically performed by a particular class of persons in settings in which the specified role is salient. Role enactments are, of course, influenced by role expectations since sanctions are imposed to encourage conformity to these standards. However, role behavior may also be influenced by role perceptions as well as by other variables which generally influence behavior patterns.

Although the multidimensional approach to the definition of role decreases the ambiguity of the concept to a great extent, it does not completely solve the problem. The concept has often been employed to denote organized behavior patterns at two different levels of the social system, the societal and the small group. This practice has resulted in some confusion when the level of analysis is not specified (Argyle, 1952; Warren, 1949). A related dilemma has arisen because one set of researchers has stressed the sociological implications of the concept in terms of its function as a component of the overall social system, whereas others have emphasized a more social psychological orientation and viewed role as the primary link between the individual and society (Rushing, 1964).

Whereas this latter problem is of limited significance, the former results in imprecision and a lack of uniformity in the use of role. The distinction between the concept as used to describe behaviors associated with a class of persons in a society and its use in examining

the structure of small groups is not often made. To avoid confusion in the present discussion the term group role is used to describe behavior associated with position occupants within a specific group of persons and societal role refers to behavior associated with groups or classes of persons in a society. Group roles are attributed to positions such as leader, worker, or mother and societal roles describe behaviors associated with classes of persons such as females, physicians, or old persons. It should be noted that the use of these particular terms is by no means universal. Sarbin (1954), for example, made this same distinction by noting that roles at the societal level are less specific than those associated with positions in small groups.

Group roles and societal roles do not exist in isolation from one another. Societal roles, in that they are less transient, are generally more primary in the identity of the person than group roles and, especially when made salient by cues in the situation, may influence both the group role perception and enactment of the actor. Positions held in the social structure, then, can influence behavior in a smaller social system (Sarbin & Allen, 1969).

The present study proposes a relationship between role perceptions (the perceived appropriateness of behavior) and outcomes seen as resulting from the enactment of these perceptions. It is suggested that behaviors seen as more appropriate for a situation are those behaviors which, for the individual actor, generally lead to high outcomes in a situation. It is further suggested that role perceptions function to maintain high outcomes for the actor over a wide range of

interpersonal settings. This is not to say, however, that role perceptions bear no relationship to societal role expectations. On the contrary, social sanctions attached to role expectations constitute a primary source of rewards and costs in interpersonal settings and, as a result, shape role perceptions considerably. Other sources of rewards and costs, however, lie in intrapersonal factors such as the personality of the actor which cause one to achieve more intrinsic satisfaction from the performance of certain behaviors and to value certain social reactions more than others. Role perceptions, then, can be seen as unique to the individual in that they represent patterns which yield high satisfaction for that particular actor.

The notion that roles are influenced by behavioral outcomes is not a new one. It has often been suggested that role expectations operate to facilitate interpersonal interaction. That is, by increasing the predictability of other actors' behavior and the degree to which the performances of the two actors intermesh (Linton, 1936), role expectations augment outcome levels available to individuals through social interaction (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Moreover, the operation of sanctions contingent on performances consistent with role expectations also strengthens the relationship between role expectations and behavioral outcomes.

Jackson (1966) emphasized the relationship between behavioral outcomes and roles in his presentation of a return potential model for norms and roles. He first defined norms in terms of their potential for yielding approval and disapproval in social interaction. Noting that

roles were simply a specific type of norm he suggested that ideal role behavior (role expectations) constitutes the point of maximum potential return for the actor in that situation. The idea examined in the present study differs from Jackson's in that it examines the issue from a more psychological perspective. Since the value of social responses varies with the individual, this approach allows a more sensitive examination of the relationship between role perceptions and behavioral outcomes.

It is probable that role enactments, as behavior, are also influenced by considerations of reward and profit (Sarbin & Allen, 1969). It has been demonstrated that behaviors with a good probability of yielding high outcomes take precedence over less profitable ones in many settings (Homans, 1958, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). It is likely, then, that individuals perform behaviors which conform to role expectations in order to receive the positive social responses they produce. The present study examines the operation of perceived outcomes in determining role enactments. It is proposed that role perceptions reflect an actor's general perceived outcome level for a situation and, when more specific information concerning potential outcomes is available, behaviors with the potential to yield the highest outcomes may occur regardless of their perceived appropriateness.

The notion that perceived outcomes are closely related to social behavior is firmly established in social psychology. Its most comprehensive development has occurred through recent presentations of exchange theory (Homans, 1958, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959).

Exchange Theory

The exchange perspective in social psychology rests on the assumption that human social behavior is motivated by the desire to achieve positive outcomes through interaction with other persons. For the most part exchange theory has dealt with overt social behavior but it also lends itself to the study of other role related phenomena such as expectations and perceptions. Thibaut and Kelley (1959) proposed that norms, or standards for behavior, develop as a result of a society or group's attempts to maximize profits available through social interaction. When a specific interaction pattern repeatedly yields high outcomes for participants, the pattern becomes a standard for similar interactions in the future. Moreover, norms may function to reduce costs in interaction among strangers by increasing the predictability of behavior. Roles, as norms individualized for specific groups of people, can be seen by the same reasoning as functioning to increase outcomes associated with social behavior. Considerations of rewards and costs, therefore, may directly influence expectations, perceptions, and the extent to which role perceptions are enacted by the individual. Suggestions to this effect have been made by both Homans (1961) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959) and constitute the foundation on which the present study rests.

George Homans' theoretical work is conceptually based in behavioral psychology and elementary economics. Borrowing from both fields, Homans generated five propositions concerning social behavior in dyads. Although he explicitly eliminated norms, expectations, and roles from consideration,

he suggested that his basic explanation for social behavior could be expanded for this purpose. Moreover, he proposed that exchange theory, as he presented it, is adequate to deal with actual behavior once the role is given. In other words, he suggested that role enactments could be explained by exchange theory.

Homans' first proposition deals with the stimulus control of human behavior and simply restates one of the most basic propositions of learning theory. It suggests that when an individual is rewarded for emitting a behavior in response to the presentation of a discriminative stimulus, he is more likely to emit the behavior under similar circumstances in the future. When positive outcomes are associated with a behavior or set of behaviors, the behavior is likely to be repeated in similar situations.

To facilitate the application of learning principles to human behavior Homans used the term activity to represent operant or voluntary behavior and the label sentiments to indicate activities which are signs of the feelings a person has toward other persons. Sentiments, especially social approval, function as generalized reinforcers for behavior and in this way increase the frequency (or quantity) of those activities on which they are contingent.

Homans described activities not only in terms of their quantity, but also with reference to their value. He defined value as the degree of reinforcement or punishment an individual receives from a unit of behavior another emits during interaction. That is, a behavior emitted by actor B is valuable to A to the extent that A receives positive

reinforcement from it. Homans' next proposition suggests that, the more valuable a response of another during interaction, the more often an actor will perform the activity which produced this response. It is in this proposition that Homans' approach begins to branch out from learning theory. Rewards are conceptualized not simply as an external force, but in terms of their meaning to the individual actor.

Another of Homans' propositions suggests that the value of an activity is not constant. Rather, it fluctuates depending on the amount of reinforcement the person has received from that activity in the recent past. For instance, if an individual has received a considerable amount of social approval recently he will experience less reinforcement from an additional unit than he did from his initial units of approval. This approach is reminiscent of the psychological concept of satiation and the economic notion of marginal utility.

Homans used the concepts reward, cost, and profit to describe how a person evaluates his outcomes and those of other persons in a social interaction. Rewards were defined as values received as a result of an interaction and costs as values foregone. The profit associated with an interaction is the total reward less the total cost. According to Homans, individuals in an interaction compare their profits to those of the other and perceive a just situation as one in which the profits of each partner are proportional to his or her investments. Homans labeled this equality in the distribution of rewards and costs the principle of distributive justice. In his final proposition he suggested that violations of this principle produce negative emotional reactions.

In general, Homans' work highlighted the importance of outcome, or profit, in determining the social behavior of the individual actor. He did not claim that profit maximization was the primary goal of social behavior (Deutsch & Krauss, 1968), but he did suggest that considerations of rewards and costs were essential to explaining social interaction. In his presentation of exchange theory, Homans demonstrated that his propositions were consistent with and derived from previous group research. Unfortunately, his theory generated little independent research (Shaw & Costanzo, 1971). Problems in operationalizing rewards, costs, and values have hindered researchers from testing hypotheses derived from Homans' five propositions.

Thibaut and Kelley's work (1959) examined the function of rewards and costs in a dyadic interaction from a small group perspective. Like Homans, they assumed that net profit, or outcome, generated as a result of behavior in an interaction, determines the probability of future repetition of that behavior. Moreover, they saw profit maximization as an important motivator in social interaction and discuss its function in the formation and evaluation of relationships and in producing power and dependency in a small group. Thibaut and Kelley made more explicit the place of role in exchange theory but, like Homans, did not extensively discuss the function of interaction outcomes in determining the content or complexity of role perceptions. They suggested that role expectations develop as a means of synchronizing the behavior of interaction partners and function to limit the costs of both partners. This implies, of course, that an

individual's perception of a role he occupies may also be influenced by his beliefs concerning the types of behavior which generally produce the best outcomes during interaction in a specific settings and, like role expectations, function to maintain high outcomes.

Thibaut and Kelley proposed that behavior sequences emitted by persons during interaction are determined by the outcomes available to each person. They used an outcome matrix to represent the alternatives open to actors A and B during interaction. Each cell of the matrix represented the outcomes available to both partners if a given behavior sequence in A's repertoire is emitted in conjunction with a specified one in B's repertoire. In the early stages of interaction the outcome matrix is explored and, it was proposed, the dyad eventually concentrates on those cells which provide the best outcomes for both parties.

Outcomes available in an interaction are determined by both rewards and costs. Thibaut and Kelley considered rewards to be satisfactions and gratifications an individual achieves through interaction with another and costs to be the negative consequences associated with the performance of a given behavior sequence. Outcomes are determined both by factors inherent in the interaction (endogenous factors) and by those external to the interaction itself (exogenous factors). Endogenous rewards and costs result directly from social interaction and arise from the value B's behavior has for his partner A. It is these outcomes on which Homans focused most of his attention. Rewards, however, can also depend on exogenous factors,

such as an individual's needs and abilities, which do not directly result from social interaction.

According to Thibaut and Kelley the evaluation of a relationship does not depend solely on the actual outcome level available through interaction with that person. It also relies on how this level compares with outcomes experienced previously and to those rewards and costs available in alternative relationships. Outcomes are compared, first of all, to the comparison level (CL), a standard which consists of all outcomes experienced previously, weighted by the salience of the outcome. In other words, the CL is a person's perception of what he or she deserves in a social interaction and relationships are perceived as attractive to the extent that the outcomes they produce exceed the CL. Although all experienced outcomes influence the CL at any given moment, some are more salient in its determination at a specific time because of recency or the presence of stimuli which serve as reminders of the outcome. Moreover, those outcomes for which a person perceives personal responsibility are persistently salient and are more influential in determining the CL.

According to Thibaut and Kelley's theory the decision of whether or not to continue a relationship is influenced by the best outcomes available in alternative relationships, the comparison level for alternatives (CL_{alt}). The CL_{alt} also has a strong influence on the pattern of power and dependency in the dyad. If the outcome level available to person A through interaction with B exceeds his CL_{alt} A will be, to that extent, dependent on B. If, at the same time, B has

other relationships which produce outcomes similar to those generated through interaction with A, B will have power over A. Unlike person A, B can afford to terminate the relationship without experiencing a reduced outcome level.

Thibaut and Kelley identified two types of power in the dyad. Behavior control, the more limited type, exists when person A, through choice of behavior, can make it more profitable for person B to emit a given behavior sequence. When fate control exists, A can unilaterally alter B's outcomes by selecting a particular behavior sequence. The essential difference between fate and behavior control is the amount of control one has over one's own outcomes. When the control lies solely with the other actor, fate control exists; when the behavioral choice of both actors determine B's outcome level, behavior control exists.

Like Homans, Thibaut and Kelley presented an analysis of previous research to demonstrate its consistency with their exchange theory. Moreover, considerable independent research has provided evidence in support of their work. Most notable among this body of research are those studies in operant conditioning of verbal behavior, accommodation in the minimal social situation, and interpersonal bargaining (Gergen, 1969; Jones & Gerard, 1967; Shaw & Costanzo, 1971; Swenson, 1973). In general, research on these topics supports the principles of Thibaut and Kelley's exchange theory. Since, as Swenson pointed out, exchange theory has generated more research than any other approach to interpersonal interaction, it is impossible to review all the relevant

research in this context. However, there are a number of studies which deserve mention as providing fairly solid evidence concerning the validity of the theory.

Even before the principles of exchange theory had been formally outlined, research findings supported the belief that behavioral outcomes play a significant part in determining social interaction. The work on the operant conditioning of verbal responses is one example. In one study (Taffell, 1955) the comment "good" was employed to reinforce the use of the pronouns "I" and "we" and thus increase the incidence of their use. Similar patterns were also found by Verplank (1955), using social approval to increase opinion statements, and by Greenspoon (1955) who influenced the use of plural nouns with the reinforcer "mmhmm." Another study (Hildum & Brown, 1956), however, found that whereas the response "good" increased opinion statements in support of an issue, the reinforcer "mmhmm" was ineffective. Using more controlled experimental procedures other researchers (Centers, 1963; Matarazzo, Saslow, Weins, Weitman & Allen, 1964) found that the total amount of verbalization during the interaction period could be increased through the use of social approval and subsequently decreased through the removal of such approval. The only evidence not clearly in support of the conclusion that verbal behavior during interaction is influenced by social reinforcement was produced by Spielberger (1962). He found verbal reinforcement to be effective only when the subjects were aware of the reinforcement contingency. However, exchange theory suggests that individuals are aware of these contingencies and utilize this information to maximize outcomes.

Support for Thibaut and Kelley's propositions concerning the manner in which a person's CL determines his degree of attraction to a particular relationship was provided by two studies concerning the gain and loss of esteem in the dyad (Aronson & Linder, 1965; Sigall & Aronson, 1967). Although not designed to examine the relationship between CL and interpersonal attraction, these studies indicated that the progression from negative to positive outcomes in a relationship produced more attraction and reciprocity of rewards than any other pattern, including consistent positive outcomes. During a period of negative outcomes, the CL is lowered and subsequent positive outcomes are more likely to exceed the CL. Although attraction to a person offering consistently positive outcomes was somewhat less, it was still greater than that found with a consistently negative evaluator or one who progressed from positive to negative evaluations. This may be considered evidence that the actual outcome level also influences attraction to a relationship.

Research on accommodation in a minimal social situation also provides some support for Thibaut and Kelley's ideas concerning progression toward mutually rewarding cells during an interaction. Using a design in which subjects could, without awareness of the fact, provide either positive or negative outcomes to their partner, Sidowski, Wycoff and Tabory (1956) and Sidowski (1957) found that accommodation (the choice of a strategy which provides maximum joint profit) occurred regularly. Shaw (1962) found similar evidence of a conversion from fate to behavior control, but only when the subjects were told they

were in a cooperative situation. Other studies have shown that accommodation also occurs when, instead of mutual fate control, one partner has behavior control (Rabinowitz, Kelley & Rosenblatt, 1966) and is more likely to result from simultaneous responding (Kelley, Thibaut, Radloff & Mundy, 1962).

Kelley (1968) labeled studies using the minimal social situation common interest problems since both individuals find their maximum outcomes in the same cell. Because of the reward structure the actors have a "common interest" in establishing a particular behavior pattern as the primary mode of behavior. Other studies, which use a mixed motive design, can be classified as conflict of interest problems. In these situations the reward structure is such that competitive and cooperative motives are placed in conflict with each other. The pattern of behavior yielding the highest outcome for actor A may not be that which is most satisfactory to actor B. Research on interpersonal bargaining clearly involves a conflict of interest design. Although in most cases strategies for joint profit are possible, the cooperative choice is not so clear as in the common interest problems. Research on bargaining games is generally supportive of Thibaut and Kelley's ideas concerning the influence the outcome matrix has on social behavior. In one series of papers (Scodel, Minas, Ratoosh & Lipetz, 1959; Minas, Scodel, Marlowe & Rawson, 1960) data were presented which indicated that anticipated payoffs had a clear effect on response choice, although the authors suggested that the rewards gained through successful competition may have augmented the outcomes

available in the game and thus influenced the bargaining process. Other studies (Kelley, Beckman & Fischer, 1967; Schenitzki, 1962; Siegal & Fouraker, 1967) have shown that during bargaining, individuals make concessions which result in positive outcomes for both parties.

The research most relevant to the exchange principles examined in the present study is that concerning the emergence and functional value of norms in interaction. In an early study using the common target game, Leavitt (1960) found that small groups which were assigned problems facilitating the development of rules during early trials attained better results overall than other teams. Other studies (Murdoch, 1967; Murdoch & Rosen, 1970; Thibaut, 1968; Thibaut & Faucheaux, 1965; Thibaut & Gruder, 1969) have examined the emergence of norms in bargaining games by allowing the option of contract formation after several trials. The data indicate that contracts are highly likely to be formed under high threat conditions when potential costs are great. Moreover, it was found in one study that contracts, or explicit norms, were effective in ensuring equity in the distribution of outcomes to players in a bargaining game (Thibaut & Faucheaux, 1965).

The present study uses principles outlined by both Homans (1958, 1961) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959) to examine the relationship of role perceptions to role enactments as well as the content of role perceptions themselves. The complex of roles to be used in this study

are those assigned on the basis of sex, more specifically, the sex roles of adult females.

Sex Roles and Perceived Outcomes

Since sex and age constitute basic differentiating variables in any society (Banton, 1965), much of the early work on role theory examined roles associated with these positions (e.g., Cottrell, 1942; Linton, 1940; Parsons, 1942). Sex roles were often described in these discussions as ascribed roles because assignment to sex categories is based on characteristics which are present at birth and are relatively enduring (Linton, 1936). It was also assumed that, since sex is a salient characteristic in many situations, this social role may superimpose its influence on many group roles adopted by the actor (Angrist, 1969).

Although sex role distinctions are nearly universal, the content of sex roles is culturally determined. At the present time in the United States there is little consensus or specificity concerning the content of sex role expectations, especially for women's roles (Angrist, 1969; Goode, 1960; Gross, Mason & McEachern, 1958; Rappaport, Payne & Steinmann, 1970b; Rose, 1951; Sarbin, 1954). Current discussions of this issue have altered many women's role perceptions and enactments by making alternatives both more salient and more acceptable. Elements of both traditional male and female roles have been synthesized, in varying ways, yielding a wide range of conceptions concerning appropriate feminine behavior.

Although traditional male and female roles have often been seen as prescribing behaviors which are mutually exclusive (e.g., Podell, 1959), it is possible that these roles involve independent sets of behaviors which may be performed in any combination. That is, behaviors which have traditionally been labeled feminine are not simply the opposite of masculine traits, but constitute independent and positive qualities in themselves. Recent work by Sandra Bem (1974, 1975) has provided evidence in support of this hypothesis. Moreover, other studies (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968), in which subjects were asked to indicate stereotypic male and female characteristics, have provided additional support. Many traits which subjects generally list as feminine represent traits independent from those identified as masculine. For example, several characteristics most individuals associated with women were tact, talkativeness and gentleness whereas stereotypic masculine traits included aggressiveness, independence and objectivity. Development of these feminine traits does not necessarily imply a shift totally away from those described as more typical of males (Broverman et al., 1972). A woman may be, at the same time, both independent and tactful and achieve high outcomes through the cultivation of a wider range of socially desirable traits.

The concept of sex role has the same conceptual problems as role in general (Angrist, 1969). It is therefore necessary to specify exactly how the term is to be used and what assumptions are made

concerning the nature of sex roles in the present study. This study considers sex role perceptions, expectations and enactments to be three components of sex roles. Further, sex roles are seen as social roles which exist independently of group roles and influence group role perceptions and enactments to the degree that sex characteristics are salient or focused upon in the interaction. Although it is acknowledged that the relevance of sex roles decreases in industrial societies such as ours (Banton, 1965), the present study assumes that sex role concerns are still quite relevant to interaction in male-female dyads.

One of the questions addressed in this study is the nature of those factors which influence the content of a woman's perceptions of the adult female role. Levinson (1959) suggested that role occupants, when faced with a complex system of requirements, form personal role definitions as a mode of adaptation. That is, when individuals are presented with conflicting role expectations within a social setting, they may redefine the role expectation in such a way as to reduce the conflict. For example, a woman may construct a personal role definition which specifies assertiveness as appropriate for women because, in a work situation, the more traditionally feminine style of being soft spoken hinders the performance of her job. In this study it is proposed that these personal role definitions, or role perceptions, are closely related to the outcomes seen as associated with the performance of role related behaviors.

The issue of women's role perceptions is not a new one for research. For example, previous research has related feminine role perceptions to a woman's occupational orientation (McKenzie, 1972; Motz, 1950; Vogel, Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1970), socio-economic status (Haavio-Mannila, 1967; Motz, 1950), marital status (Rappaport, Payne & Steinmann, 1970a), family environment and beliefs (Kanmeyer, 1966, 1967; Minuchin, 1965; Neiman, 1954; Steinmann, 1963), and a variety of other social and personality variables (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). In related research women's attitudes toward the principles of the women's liberation movement have also been examined (Baker, 1972; Dempewolff, 1973; Ryckman, Martens, Rodda & Sherman, 1972; Sanger & Alker, 1972; Tavris, 1972). Whereas these studies provide a cursory understanding of factors related to sex role perceptions, the present study attempts a fuller understanding of the problem through a functional examination of sex role perceptions on the individual level. It is hoped that this effort will provide a less superficial explanation of why women differ in their personal definitions of the female role.

Hypotheses

Role expectations play an important part in shaping perceptions of appropriate behavior since an individual may use societal standards as a source of information concerning social behaviors likely to be rewarded by most other actors. However, other factors more specific to the individual also contribute to the formation of role perceptions. It is suggested in this study that one variable which influences the

the content of sex role perceptions is the outcome level perceived as resulting from the performance of a role related behavior. The first hypothesis proposes that behaviors which generally yield higher outcomes in a situation are perceived as more appropriate than others.

Hypothesis 1: Behavioral characteristics included in a woman's perception of the societal role for females are perceived as yielding higher outcomes than behaviors seen as less appropriate.

This hypothesis is indirectly derived from the suggestions of several exchange theorists that norms constitute verbal descriptions of behavior patterns which generally yield high outcomes for a group or society's members (Homans, 1958, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Since roles are norms applied to specific groups in a society, it is clear that considerations of rewards and costs may also be central to determining role expectations. By the same token, role definitions of individual role occupants may consist of those behaviors which, in the past experience of each actor, generally resulted in high outcomes. This hypothesis implies that role perceptions function to maintain high outcomes for the individual in much the same way that role expectations serve to increase the level of satisfaction for most group members. As individual beliefs, however, role perceptions are more sensitive to individual differences in personality, experience, and the perception of social events.

The first hypothesis suggests that behavioral characteristics which are generally considered masculine, as well as those typically

seen as feminine, are incorporated into a woman's role perception to the extent that she perceives these characteristics as yielding high outcomes. As noted previously, this assumes that masculine and feminine characteristics represent independent dimensions rather than opposite poles on a single continuum, and that both sets of characteristics have the potential to produce positive outcome levels for any actor under certain circumstances. It is proposed that unless costs are prohibitively high, behaviors which generally produce high rewards for an actor are incorporated into the individual's role perception regardless of their relationship to male or female role expectations.

A basic assumption of exchange theory is that rewards and costs received in social interaction can be summed algebraically to produce an indication of overall outcome level. If this is so, a woman who incorporates both masculine and feminine behavioral characteristics into her sex role perception will, provided the characteristics are independent and produce positive outcomes, anticipate higher outcomes than other women. The second hypothesis rests on this assumption and on Thibaut and Kelley's (1959) propositions concerning the nature of the CL:

Hypothesis 2: Women with a high CL are more likely than other women to incorporate both masculine and feminine behavioral characteristics into their perception of the societal role for females.

According to exchange theory, the higher a person's CL, the higher the outcome level must be in any situation to produce satisfaction. Women with a high CL, then, must attain higher outcomes than other women to achieve the same degree of satisfaction in a situation. As a result, these women are likely to be more motivated to maximize their outcome level. Since rewards for socially desirable behaviors are additive, the best strategy for outcome maximization is the incorporation of both masculine and feminine characteristics into the sex role perception. This is true only when the rewards associated with both sets of behaviors are seen as exceeding the costs in that situation.

A second question addressed in this study concerns the complexity of sex role perceptions. Biddle and Thomas suggested that role performances can be seen as segments of an individual's behavioral repertoire and role perceptions as a person's beliefs concerning the behavioral repertoire appropriate to a specified group of people. Since complexity is an important characteristic of any behavioral repertoire, role perceptions can be described according to the degree of complexity they manifest. It has been proposed (Biddle & Thomas, 1966) that sequence length, extensiveness and contingentness in a role component jointly contribute to its complexity. Sequence length can be defined in terms of the number of linked performances or activities contained within a role perception, and a role perception can be described as extensive to the extent that it has numerous and diverse performance elements in it. Contingentness of a role component depends

on the number of performance alternatives encompassed in it. Therefore, Biddle and Thomas are suggesting that a highly complex role perception is one that specifies a number of linked activities, and is characterized by high diversity and numerous performance elements.

The two latter determinants of role complexity, the number of performance elements and alternatives, are examined in this study. First, a role perception is considered to show characteristic complexity to the extent that it specifies a great number of behaviors as appropriate. Women who perceive both male and female characteristics as appropriate, or who believe a greater number of each to be proper, are seen as having more complex role perceptions. Instead of limiting their perception of an appropriate behavior pattern to a few critical behaviors, these women define femininity as a diverse (and therefore complex) set of activities.

The second determinant of role complexity to be studied is the number of performance alternatives which are perceived. Women who perceive sex roles as varying with the situation have more performance alternatives and, therefore, are identified as having more situationally complex role perceptions than other women.

In the present study it is assumed that characteristic and situational complexity contribute equally to the overall complexity of the sex role perception. That is, a woman who is labeled highly complex on both the situational and characteristic dimensions is considered to have a perception twice as complex as women rated in the same manner on only one dimension. The overall complexity of the

sex role perception then, reflects both the number of behaviors perceived as appropriate and the perceived situational difference in appropriateness.

The problem addressed in this study is why some women are characterized by more complex perceptions than others. Since it has been suggested perviously that role perceptions are influenced by consideration of behavioral outcomes one explanation may lie in this direction. The third and fourth hypotheses propose a direct relationship between perceived outcomes and sex role complexity.

Hypothesis 3: Women with situationally complex perceptions of the societal role for females are more likely than other women to perceive outcomes associated with behavioral characteristics as varying with the situation.

This hypothesis proposes that women who perceive the outcomes resulting from behavior as depending on the situation in which it occurs, also perceive the appropriateness of behavior as varying with the situation. This hypothesis is, like those above, based on the assumption that role perceptions represent a person's beliefs concerning which behaviors generally yield high outcomes in interaction with other individuals.

The fourth hypothesis proposes a relationship between perceived outcomes and the characteristic complexity of sex role perceptions.

Hypothesis 4: Women with characteristically complex perceptions of the societal role for females perceive more behaviors as yielding high outcomes for women.

The characteristic complexity of a role perception reflects the number of behaviors which are seen as appropriate for the relevant class of persons. If a woman believes that numerous behaviors are appropriate for women she can be described as having a characteristically complex sex role perception for females since she includes a more diverse set of behaviors in her role perception. It has been proposed in this discussion that the perceived appropriateness of a behavior is closely tied to the outcome level perceived as resulting from its performance. The fourth hypothesis suggests that women with characteristically complex sex role perceptions for females perceive relatively more behaviors as appropriate for women because they see more behaviors as producing positive outcomes for women.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) suggested that both endogenous and exogenous factors influence the outcome levels available in an interaction. One source of exogenous rewards is the needs of the persons involved in an interaction. The fifth hypothesis suggests that the degree of complexity in a woman's sex role perception is related to the degree to which complexity fills or frustrates her personal needs.

Hypothesis 5: Women with less complex perceptions of the societal role for females have, relative to other women, a low tolerance for complexity.

Since complexity and simplicity represent opposite poles on a single dimension, women with a low tolerance for complexity can be expected

to demonstrate a considerable desire for simplicity. If complexity is perceived as threatening, simplicity may become an important need in the individual's personality structure (Budner, 1962). Women characterized by low tolerance for complexity, then, would encounter high costs if they were to develop a complex sex role perception. This complexity would frustrate an important personal need and thus reduce the outcome level possible. The fifth hypothesis suggests that women with a low tolerance for complexity are less likely to hold complex role perceptions as an indirect result of their desire to avoid costs and maximize outcomes.

If an actor sees a behavior pattern as personally appropriate in situation, it is reasonable to anticipate that he or she will enact the behavior pattern if given the opportunity (Price & Bouffard, 1974). If one fails to do so the role enactment is inconsistent with the role perception. Using Biddle and Thomas' terminology, two role elements are inconsistent if one implies an event which is denied by the other. The final question to be addressed in this study concerns what factors may induce inconsistency between sex role perceptions and enactments.

Although role perceptions can be seen as guidelines for behavior, it is unreasonable to propose total congruency between the two (Levinson, 1959; Sarbin & Jones, 1955). Just as there are factors which may mitigate the influence of role expectations on role perceptions, the relationship between role perceptions and behavior is not a perfect one. Several theorists have examined this issue and suggested intrapersonal variables which may affect the degree of

consistency between role perceptions and enactments. Allport (1961) proposed that personality influences both an actor's role conception and the acceptance or rejection of a specific role. As a result, it intervenes between societal demands and individual behavior. Using a similar approach, Getzels and Guba (1954) suggested that role expectations and the need disposition of the person interact to determine social behavior. A different tact was taken by Morris (1971) who proposed that an actor's role perception is determined by actual role behavior through the process of self-perception. He suggested that adjustment to role expectations occurs when an individual actor develops a mode of adaptation to deal with complex, and sometimes conflicting, societal demands. The mode of adaptation chosen by the person is influenced by the personality and directly determines role behavior. Role perceptions are seen by Morris as abstracted by the individual from observations of his or her own behavior.

The present study examines still another model of the relationship between role perceptions and enactments. It is suggested that role behavior in any situation is determined by the outcome levels the actor sees as resulting from various behavioral alternatives. When the outcome matrix is not known to the actor, he or she acts on past experience and chooses the behavior which generally yields the highest outcome. In this instance the role perception, a statement of general perceived outcomes, would be highly consistent with role behavior. However, if an actor does have information

concerning the outcome matrix in operation, actual behavior will be more strongly influenced by this factor.

The empirical research on the relationship between sex role perceptions and enactments has generated conflicting data, demonstrating the need for further study of the issue. In some studies overall consistency between role perceptions and enactments has been reported. One such study (Haavio-Mannila, 1967), conducted in Helsinki, examined role perceptions and performances for home and work behavior and found high accord between conceptions and enactments. Similarly, other researchers reported a relationship between employment status and family role perceptions (Hoffman, 1963; Porter, 1967; Weil, 1962), and between expectations for typical male and female behavior and family size (Clarkson, Vogel, Broverman, Broverman & Rosenkrantz, 1970).

Other studies have shown inconsistency between sex role perceptions and enactments. Both Morgan (1962) and Angrist (1966) found that women with different occupational orientations have similar role perceptions, and Motz (1950) found that working wives have more traditional marital role perceptions than housewives. One problem which may contribute to the confusing data on this issue is the failure of many researchers to subdivide role elements according to situation. This results in a comparison, for instance, of sex role perceptions for family life with sex role behavior in the occupational sphere. One study which did subdivide by situation

found high consistency between role perceptions and self-reported behavior (Haavio-Mannila, 1967).

This study will not dwell on the issue of whether sex role perceptions and enactments are consistent or inconsistent. It is assumed that in some instances consistency prevails and in others inconsistency can be found. The focus is on the identification of those circumstances which produce inconsistency. Since sex role perceptions are seen as general guidelines to achieving high outcomes, it is expected that the greatest consistency between these beliefs and behavior occurs when little information is available concerning the outcome matrix actually in effect. However, if the actor knows that behavior inconsistent with his role perception holds the promise of higher rewards and lower costs than consistent behavior, this behavior pattern would prevail since it has the greatest potential outcome level. Moreover, the higher the outcome level generally perceived as associated with an inconsistent behavior pattern, the more likely it is to occur when the actor knows the social rewards available in a situation for that behavior are high.

Hypothesis 6: Women who engage in behavior inconsistent with their perceptions of the societal role for females when offered a specific reward level for doing so perceive higher outcomes as generally associated with the behavior than other women.

The outcome level associated with a behavior varies with both the woman's expectations of what behavior will be rewarded in a situation and the costs of inconsistent behavior in that situation. Regardless

of the outcome level generally associated with a set of behaviors, a woman is less likely to perform the behavior for a specified reward when the circumstances attach additional high costs to the behavior in that setting. For example, if a woman believes her behavior in a situation is highly public, the costs associated with inconsistent behavior are higher than those she generally anticipates. The seventh hypothesis predicts that in these circumstances women are less likely to engage in inconsistent behavior when specified rewards are available for doing so.

Hypothesis 7: Women who are offered a specific reward level for behavior inconsistent with their perception of the societal role for females are less likely to engage in the behavior in a public setting than in a nonpublic one.

In his fourth proposition Homans (1961) suggested that social rewards an individual has received from other persons have the effect of reducing the value of additional units of social reward for that individual. For instance, his proposition implies that satiation with social approval may occur and effectively reduce the reward value of further social approval at that time. This suggestion is consistent with the research findings on the motivation for social approval (Eisenberger, 1970). In terms of the present discussion of outcomes associated with consistent and inconsistent behavior, Homans' satiation principle suggests that women who have recently experienced a high level of social approval are less likely than other women to engage in inconsistent behavior to obtain social approval.

Hypothesis 8: Women who are offered a specific reward level for behavior inconsistent with their perception of the societal role for females are less likely to engage in the behavior when they have experienced a high level of social approval prior to the interaction.

On the basis of Thibaut and Kelley's exchange theory it was suggested previously that women with a high CL for a situation must attain a higher outcome level to achieve satisfaction in that situation than other women. Because of their high standards for acceptable outcome levels these women are more likely than others to experience dissatisfaction at any given outcome level. They may be more motivated than other women to maximize outcomes and more likely to engage in behavior inconsistent with their sex role perception to ensure higher outcome levels.

Hypothesis 9: Women with a high CL for a situation are more likely than other women to engage in behavior inconsistent with their perception of the societal role for females when offered a specific reward level for doing so.

In other words, this hypothesis suggests that when a specific reward level is offered for inconsistency, women who have achieved more satisfaction in past interactions are more likely to engage in the inconsistent behavior.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 160 female undergraduates at the University of Florida who were recruited from the experimental subject pool to participate in a group discussion study. Since the study involved male-female interaction only unmarried subjects were used. Further, as the male confederates were caucasian, only caucasian subjects participated. Potential subjects who did not meet these requirements met individually with the experimenter and were told that they were not required to participate in the study. In signing up for the experiment the subjects were asked to indicate a phone number at which they could be reached to arrange an appointment for the experimental session. This procedure allowed the experimenter to conduct a pretest which did not appear to be directly related to the experiment itself and to ensure that the pretest was completed approximately four to ten days before the experimental session.

Four subjects were dropped from the study after the pretest because they had completed their course requirements or would not attend the experimental session, and four others were dropped after the experimental session because they were aware of the study or the nature of

the measures used. In addition, one subject was not run because she appeared overly apprehensive about psychological experimentation, another was eliminated from the study because she knew a confederate, and still another was lost because of equipment failure.

Procedure

A schematic presentation of the general procedure used in the study appears in Figure 1. The diagram proceeds from left to right from the earliest contact with the subject to the debriefing interview. The manipulations performed and measures taken at each point are indicated.

Before a subject had been contacted by an experimenter to arrange an appointment for the experimental session, she received a phone call from either a male or female confederate (Confederates A) posing as a student working on a research project. Each call began with the following introduction:

My name is _____ and I'm involved with a research project at the University of Florida. We're contacting a sample of students to get their opinions on women's roles and experiences in our society. I'd like to ask you to help with this project by filling out a questionnaire. It will take about an hour of your time. Unfortunately, I can't pay you for your time but if you're a Psychology student I might be able to compensate you in another way. I can offer you one hour of experimental credit for filling out the questionnaire. If you are willing to help me I'll arrange a time and place convenient for us to meet. Your help will be greatly appreciated and will be valuable to the research project. Do you think you'll be able to help me?

Every subject contacted agreed to meet with the confederate. Relatively quiet places on campus, such as dorm lobbies, were selected for meeting

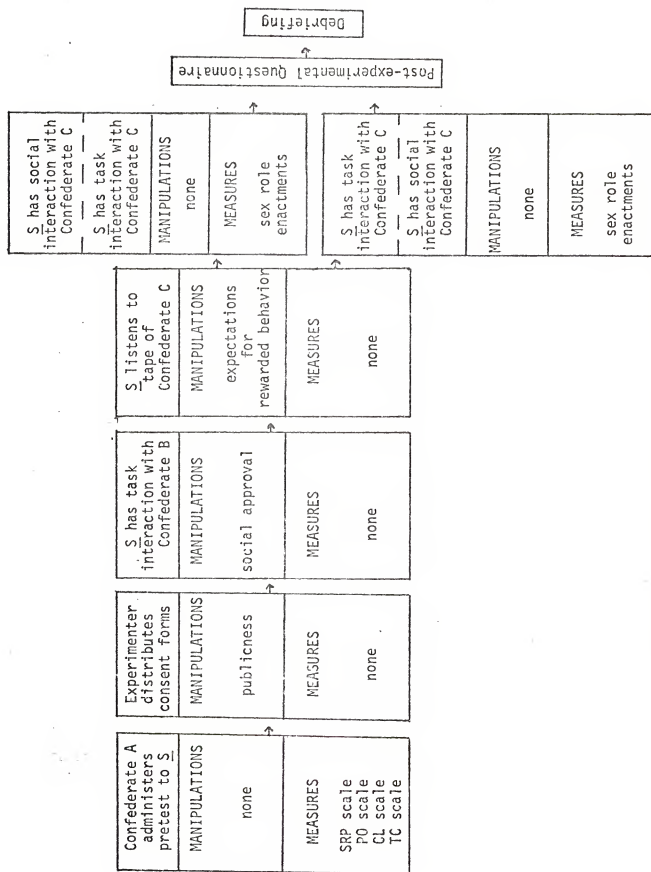


Figure 1. Schematic Presentation of Procedure.

places. Confederate A noted the subjects who were black or married and passed this information on to the experimenter. The confederate waited while the questionnaire was completed and answered any questions raised by the subject.

After the pretest was returned and scored the experimenter contacted each subject to arrange an appointment for the experimental session. Before assignment to experimental conditions, subjects were placed in one of two groups for each situation on the basis of their sex role perception (SRP) scores measured in the pretest. One group consisted of those women who saw traditional feminine behaviors, in contrast to those generally seen as masculine, as either more appropriate or just as appropriate for women. The other group contained women who believed masculine behaviors to be more appropriate.

A $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design was used in the experiment with the following four variables manipulated: publicness of behavior (public/not public), amount of social approval (approval/disapproval), expectations for rewarded behavior (consistent/inconsistent), and interaction order (social-work/work-social). Assignment to conditions was random within each SRP group for the work situation, and an attempt was made to distribute subjects with masculine and feminine sex role perceptions evenly across the conditions. Moreover, no more than half of the subjects in any condition were pretested by a specific pretester. Although the pretest was scored prior to the experimental session, the experimenter and confederates used in the

experiment itself were not aware of any information gathered in the pretest. Approximately 10 (7-13) subjects were assigned to each of the 16 conditions and measures were taken in both social and work situations.

The subjects were told to report to a waiting room which contained four chairs and a sign instructing subjects to remain in the room until the experimenter arrived. Two male confederates also reported to the room at the designated time. An experimenter, a female undergraduate student, arrived a few minutes later and told the group she would show each of them to individual rooms while they waited for one more subject to arrive. The subject was directed to a room nearby that held a round table with two chairs arranged around it approximately two feet apart. A microphone and intercom were on the table. One wall of the room was a one-way mirror.

An experimenter gave the first set of instructions over the intercom several minutes after the subject had been shown to the room. These instructions, and all others used in the experiment, can be found in Appendix A. The subject was informed she would work on two group discussion problems, working each time with a different partner. The experimenter then brought Confederate B, a male undergraduate student, into the room. She asked both students to sign an informed consent form which specified, in writing, that their interaction would be taped. In the public condition the instructions given by the experimenter stressed that the interaction

would be taped and also that the tapes would be used for Psychology class demonstrations. After the forms were signed and collected the experimenter handed each student a copy of the first task (which can be found in Appendix B). The couple was instructed to read over the problem carefully and, when the signal was given over the intercom, to start working. The subjects were given eight minutes to complete the task.

The amount of social approval received by the subject was manipulated during the first task. Confederate B was either very approving or very disapproving of the opinions expressed by the subject. At the end of eight minutes the experimenter announced over the intercom that the time was up and everyone should stop working. She then announced that the second part of the experiment entailed listening to the tape recording made by the other set of subjects working on the same problem. The information on this tape was to give each subject an idea of how his or her next partner approached a decision making task. Confederate B was sent back to his original room to listen to the tape in private. A cassette tape recorder was brought into the subject's room and she was asked to listen to the tape very carefully.

.....Two different stimulus tapes were used. On Tape I Confederate C gave the impression he approved of women who use traditional feminine styles in a work situation. His female partner acted in a warm and soft spoken manner and, at the end of the tape, Confederate C said he enjoyed working with her because of this. Tape II was

designed to give a very different impression. On this tape the female partner was aggressive and assertive and, once again, Confederate C told her at the end of the tape that he enjoyed working with her because of these qualities. The same person, a woman experienced in theatre, was used as the female partner on each tape. A manipulation check prior to the experiment indicated that Confederate C was perceived as approving feminine behaviors more than masculine ones on Tape I ($t(58) = 19.75, p < .0005$) and masculine behaviors more than feminine ones on Tape II ($t(58) = 16.26, p < .0005$). Half of the subjects in each SRP Group for the work situation heard Tape I and half heard Tape II. In this way subjects were led to believe that Confederate C would approve behaviors either consistent or inconsistent with their sex role perception.

After the subject had listened to the tape Confederate C, another male undergraduate student, was brought into the room. Half of the subjects, those in the social-work condition, were then given the fourth set of instructions, which indicated a delay in the experiment. The experimenter told the group that a tape recorder had broken in the other room and they would have to sit and talk while the other group caught up. The experimenter left the room for five minutes and during this period the interaction was videotaped through a one-way mirror. When the experimenter returned to the room she handed both the subject and Confederate C the second task (which can also be found in Appendix B) and once again reminded the group that she would tell them when to begin working. The group was given

eight minutes to work on the task and the first five minutes of the interaction were videotaped through the one-way mirror.

The remaining half of the subjects were in the work-social condition and began the second task shortly after Confederate C was brought into the room. At the end of the work session the experimenter collected the answer sheets and delivered the delay instructions described above. Once again both interactions between the subject and Confederate C were videotaped from an adjacent room. Confederate C tried to maintain a neutral manner during all interactions.

When both interactions were completed, the experimenter asked Confederate C to return to the room where he had started. Each subject was then asked to complete a post-experimental questionnaire. Before leaving the laboratory, each subject was debriefed and all her questions were answered.

Materials

Equipment

Interactions were videotaped using a Sony recording system. A video-cassette recorder (model VO-1600) was used in conjunction with a Trinitron monitor (model CVM-1710) and a video camera (model AVC-3210). A Fanon classic intercom system was used for communication between the two rooms and a Century Mark IV cassette tape recorder was used to play the stimulus tapes.

Pretest

The materials used to construct the pretest can be found in Appendix C. The test consisted of 1) a sex role perception scale,

2) a perceived outcome scale, 3) a comparison level scale, and 4) a tolerance for complexity scale. The presentation order for the four scales, as well as for sections of each scale, were counter-balanced so that each confederate administered each of 24 presentation orders to 3 or 4 subjects.

The SRP scale consisted of a list of 15 male and 15 female characteristics selected from those used in the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1974) to represent socially desirable masculine and feminine behaviors. Ten of these characteristics were of direct concern to the study and the others were used as filler items. The masculine characteristics included: acts as a leader, aggressive, analytical, assertive, and defends own beliefs, whereas the feminine characteristics were: sensitive to the needs of others, soft spoken, understanding, warm, and yielding. These characteristics were chosen for direct focus in this study because they represented dimensions which could be readily observed in behavior. On the SRP scale, the subjects were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale how appropriate or inappropriate they personally believed each characteristic to be for a woman in work and social situations. Since a subsequent factor analysis of this scale indicated that one characteristic from the masculine list (defends own beliefs) and one from the feminine group (soft spoken) did not factor with the others in either situation, they were eliminated from the analysis. The remaining items formed two factors which were labeled Appropriate Feminine Characteristics

and Appropriate Masculine Characteristics for each situation. The results of these factor analyses can be found in Table 1.

The subjects received a score ranging from 0 to 4 for each of the eight characteristics in both the occupational and social situations, with 0 assigned for the response "Very Inappropriate" and 4 for "Very Appropriate." Total scores for the occupational and social subsamples, then, ranged from 0 to 16 for the masculine items and 0 to 16 for the feminine ones. The feminine scores were subtracted from the masculine ones for each situation to produce a composite score used to place each subject's sex role perception into one of the two groups described previously. A negative score indicated an individual who saw feminine characteristics as more appropriate in the situation (SRP Group I) and a positive one meant masculine behaviors were seen as more appropriate (SRP Group II).

Scores for the situational, characteristic and overall complexity of sex role perceptions were also generated from the data provided by the original SRP scale. Situational complexity was calculated by subtracting the perceived appropriateness value for each characteristic in the occupational situation from that in the social situation, and taking the absolute value of this number. Raw scores ranging from 0 to 40 were provided by the total perceived difference in appropriateness for the two situations.

Scores for the characteristic complexity of sex role perceptions ranged from 0 to 10. Characteristic complexity equaled the number of behavioral characteristics perceived as appropriate by the subject in

TABLE 1
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION SCALE

SOCIAL SITUATION		
<u>FACTOR I</u>	<u>FACTOR II</u>	<u>FACTOR III</u>
APPROPRIATE FEMININE CHARACTERISTICS	APPROPRIATE MASCULINE CHARACTERISTICS	MISCELLANEOUS
Sensitive to the Needs of Others (.669)	Acts as a Leader (.539)	Defends Own Beliefs (.487)
Understanding (.717)	Aggressive (.474)	Soft Spoken (-.554)
Warm (.732)	Analytical (.655)	
Yielding (.365)	Assertive (.668)	

WORK SITUATION		
<u>FACTOR I</u>	<u>FACTOR II</u>	<u>FACTOR III</u>
APPROPRIATE FEMININE CHARACTERISTICS	APPROPRIATE MASCULINE CHARACTERISTICS	MISCELLANEOUS
Sensitive to the Needs of Others (.706)	Acts as a Leader (.524)	Soft Spoken (-.637)
Understanding (.717)	Aggressive (.623)	
Warm (.762)	Analytical (.649)	
Yielding (.360)	Assertive (.699)	

at least one situation. Since the ranges for the situational and characteristic complexity scores were quite different, the overall complexity was calculated by summing z scores for the two values.

Perceived outcomes associated with each of the male and female characteristics in the social and occupational situations were obtained by measuring 1) the perceived probability of a number of potential consequences and 2) the subjective value or utility of each of the potential consequences. Since it is impossible to specify each potential consequence any particular behavior might have, a limited selection was used. The subjects were asked to rate the perceived probability and subjective value of eleven responses (five positive, five negative, one neutral) a man might have to a woman's behavior. The positive responses used included admiration, approval, attention, liking, and respect, whereas the negative responses were disapproval, dislike, rejection, ridicule and scorn. Indifference was originally used as a neutral response but was later eliminated because the data indicated that it was perceived as a negative response rather than a neutral one.

The subjects were asked to rate, for each of the masculine and feminine characteristics, the perceived probability of each of the 11 responses occurring in the work and social situations. The subjects also rated, on a 5-point scale, the subjective value these consequences had for her in the two situations. Subjects were assigned scores ranging from -2 to +2 for each potential consequence

with -2 assigned for the response "Very Distasteful" and +2 for "Very Valuable." Neutral responses received a score of 0. The format for both the perceived outcome and subjective utility scales can be found in Appendix C.

The formula for the perceived outcome score was based on the Subjective Expected Utility Model (SEU) in decision theory (see Coombs, Dawes & Tversky, 1970; Edwards, 1954; Simon & Stedry, 1969). The perceived outcome score for any characteristic was determined by multiplying the probability of each positively valued consequence by its value, and summing these quantities.

The measure of comparison level used in this study consisted of two questions which are presented in Appendix C. The subjects were asked to rate, on a 5-point scale, how successful they generally are in social and occupational situations.

Items designed to measure reactions to complexity in Budner's (1962) Intolerance of Ambiguity Scale were used to measure tolerance for complexity. These items are listed in Appendix C. Item 4 was negatively worded in Budner's scale but was reversed in this study to yield a more equal number of positive and negative items. Scoring for the positively worded items was on a 5-point scale with 1 assigned for the response "Strongly Disagree" and 5 for "Strongly Agree." Negatively worded items were, of course, scored in the reverse direction.

Sex Role Enactments

The measurement of sex role enactments entailed a content analysis of the ten minutes of videotaped interaction available for each subject.

Four raters, two male and two female, watched each videotape and counted the number of instances representing each characteristic, working from a list of behavioral indicators they had developed for each characteristic. A list of these indicators can be found in Appendix D. Each meaningful statement uttered by the subject was placed in either one of the sex role characteristic groups or in the categories "none" or "not understood." If a statement overlapped categories, it was placed in at most two categories.

After the tape was finished each rater also noted, on a 5-point scale, the degree to which the woman's behavior typified each characteristic. For this task the raters worked from a set of dictionary definitions which is also presented in Appendix D. The raters were unaware of the exact nature of the hypotheses and of the condition to which each subject had been assigned.

The data actually used in the analyses were generated from the mean scores for frequency counts and global ratings by three raters. One rater was eliminated because he did not appear attentive during the rating sessions and the correlation for his data with that of the other raters was low. Total scores were calculated for the enactment of masculine and feminine characteristics in each situation for every subject. For subjects in SRP Group I in each situation, the feminine scores represented the enactment of consistent behaviors and the masculine the enactment of inconsistent ones. The opposite was true for subjects in SRP Group II.

Post-Experimental Questionnaire

This questionnaire included manipulation checks for each of the three manipulations performed in the experiment. Moreover, before reading the questionnaire, each subject was asked to write a short statement of what she thought the experiment was about. Appendix E contains a copy of the post-experimental questionnaire.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The Reliability and Validity of the Data

Manipulation Checks

Data collected in the post-experimental questionnaire were analyzed to assess the strength of the manipulations performed during the experimental session. First, $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs were performed for questions relating to the perceived publicness of the interaction, the perceived approval of Confederate B, and the perceived neutrality of Confederate C. The independent measures used in these analyses were the manipulations performed during the experiment for publicness, amount of approval, and consistency of expected rewarded behavior with the sex role perception; interaction order was used as a control variable. Next, the consistency of the tape heard during the experimental session with the sex role perception and the perceived content of the tape were examined using $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs. The independent measures used in these analyses were identical with those listed above, with the addition that the tape heard during the experimental session (Tape I/Tape II) was also used.

When asked to rate how many people they believed would be aware of their behavior in the experiment, subjects in the public condition

gave higher ratings than those in the nonpublic condition. This difference, however, was only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,107) = 3.15$). The second question, relating to the perceived "publicness" of the situation, was dropped mid-way through the experiment because subjects indicated that they did not understand the question. Although the publicness manipulation may have been effective, it is not clear that it was from these data.

Subjects in the approval condition perceived Confederate B as more approving than those in the disapproval condition. When asked how much he approved of their opinions, subjects in the approval condition indicated a mean approval of 4.27 on a 5 point scale, whereas the mean for those in the disapproval condition was 2.29 ($F(1,143) = 225.40$, $p < .0001$). Confederate B was also seen as liking the subject more when she was in the approval condition.

Confederate C, who interacted with the subject during the videotaped portions of the experiment, was perceived as maintaining a neutral manner. The mean for all subjects on the question concerning his approval of their opinions was 3.47 on a 5 point scale, and the mean for the question concerning how much he liked them was 3.77. The ANOVAs indicated no significant differences across conditions for these two measures.

Although the subjects in this experiment did perceive the difference in the content of the two tapes ($F(1,90) = 277.18$, $p < .0001$), the manipulation check for the consistency of the tapes

with the subject's sex role perception indicated no significant differences across conditions ($F(1,90) = .74, p < .39$). There are several possible explanations for this finding.

First, it may be that the manipulation was ineffective due to the use of two extreme tapes. For those with more moderate views neither tape may have been consistent with their views. Another explanation lies in the wording of the question itself. It is ambiguous and may have been misinterpreted by some subjects. The final explanation, which is the most consistent with the subsequent results of the study, concerns the social desirability of masculine work role perceptions among college women. Tape I, in which a feminine work role orientation was rewarded, was perceived as significantly less consistent with the subjects' sex role perceptions than Tape II, in which a masculine approach to work roles was supported ($F(1,90) = 48.30, p < .0001$). This finding is somewhat inflated because Tape I actually was the inconsistent tape for almost twice as many subjects as Tape II. However, when this finding is considered in conjunction with the lack of results on this question as a function of the manipulation itself, a social desirability interpretation appears warranted.

The Effect of the Pretester

A number of analyses were conducted to determine what effect, if any, the sex of the pretester had on the data collected during this phase of the experiment. A 2×2 ANOVA was performed for each

of the variables listed below, using sex of the pretester and the Sex Role Perception Group for the work situation as the independent measures.

Sex Role Perception Scores (Social, Work, and Combined)

Perceived Outcome Scores for Masculine Characteristics (Social and Work)

Perceived Outcome Scores for Feminine Characteristics (Social and Work)

Comparison Level (Social and Work)

Tolerance for Complexity Scores

Tolerance for complexity scores were those most clearly influenced by the sex of the pretester. Although the main effect was only significant with a $p < .10$ ($F(1,156) = 3.55$), the interaction between sex of pretester and SRP was significant with $p < .05$ ($F(1,156) = 4.00$). Women in SRP Group I (feminine sex role perception) produced lower tolerance for complexity scores when pretested by a female confederate. Sex of the pretester was used as a factor in all analyses related to tolerance for complexity to control for this effect.

Sex role perception scores for the social situation may have also been affected by the sex of the pretester, although the main effect was only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,156) = 3.16$). Women pretested by a male confederate had more feminine sex role perception scores for the social situation than those who were given the questionnaires by a female confederate.

Inter-Rater Reliability

Pearson r correlations were calculated for the frequency counts and global ratings of masculine and feminine behaviors by three raters. The overall r for the frequency counts was .75, with the reliability for the work situation (.79) slightly higher than that for the social situation (.71). The overall reliability for the global ratings was .51, which is considerably lower than that for the frequency counts. On the basis of this finding the decision was made to focus primarily on the frequency counts in the analyses and discussion, although the ANOVA tables for the global ratings for all analyses are presented in Appendix F.

Summary

Overall, the reliability and validity of the data collected in this study are adequate. Two manipulations, the publicness of the interaction and the consistency of expected rewarded behavior with the sex role perception are, however, in question. It is probable that the former is a weak manipulation and may, as a result, have less influence on behavior than predicted. The latter manipulation may have worked, but it is impossible to determine whether this is so from the data collected in the post-experimental questionnaire.

Overview of the Analyses

Analyses of Variance were used to analyze the major portion of the data generated by this study. A repeated measure model was used where applicable, with repeated measures made in two situations on

two types of characteristics. In many repeated measures analyses it was necessary to randomly drop subjects to obtain a balanced design which could be analyzed using standard statistical packages. In some cases it was not possible to drop to exactly equal cell sizes because the n became too small. In these analyses the F values for the repeated measures are approximate. The ANOVA tables for all analyses can be found in Appendix E.

All post hoc comparisons were done for $p < .05$ using Duncan's Multiple Range Test for multiple comparisons. These comparisons were made for all effects in which the F value was significant at $p < .10$ or better.

The Content of Sex Role Perceptions

Sex Role Perception scores for the subjects in this study indicated that feminine sex role perceptions were more prominent for social situations and masculine sex role perceptions were more common for work situations. Table 2 contains the number of subjects in each SRP Group for the work and social situations, as well as for the combined score.

Although subjects differed somewhat in their perceptions of appropriate behavior, the consensus across subjects was remarkably high. As shown in Table 3, for most characteristics the standard deviation for perceived appropriateness was relatively low. In comparison, the subjects varied more in their perceptions of the outcome levels associated with these characteristics.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS IN SEX ROLE PERCEPTION GROUPS FOR SOCIAL,
WORK AND COMBINED SCORES

	SOCIAL	WORK	COMBINED
GROUP I FEMININE MORE APPROPRIATE	137	56	93
GROUP II MASCULINE MORE APPROPRIATE	23	104	67

TABLE 3

MEAN PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND MEAN PERCEIVED OUTCOME FOR
SEX ROLE CHARACTERISTICS IN SOCIAL AND WORK SITUATIONS

	<u>PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS</u>		<u>PERCEIVED OUTCOME</u>	
	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
SOCIAL SITUATION				
Acts as a leader	2.50	.77	1.18	2.95
Aggressive	1.89	.83	0.00	2.95
Analytical	2.52	1.01	1.89	2.72
Assertive	2.71	.84	2.00	2.68
Sensitive to the needs of others	3.53	.38	4.67	2.48
Understanding	3.61	.33	4.87	2.51
Warm	3.38	.49	4.53	2.49
Yielding	1.70	.87	1.45	2.67
WORK SITUATION				
Acts as a leader	3.29	.77	1.69	3.05
Aggressive	2.43	1.12	.44	3.05
Analytical	3.33	.75	2.99	2.52
Assertive	3.43	.58	2.57	2.67
Sensitive to the needs of others	3.20	.82	4.08	2.57
Understanding	3.27	.72	4.39	2.89
Warm	2.70	.96	3.82	2.59
Yielding	1.50	1.02	1.02	2.69

The effect of the situation and sex characteristic on perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome was more closely examined using 2 x 2 ANOVAs for repeated measures. As shown in Figure 2, the subjects believed feminine behaviors to be more appropriate in social situations and masculine traits to be more appropriate in work settings ($F(1,158) = 278.63, p < .0001$). A post hoc test indicated that the means in this analysis were significantly different from one another ($p < .05$), with the exception of those for the appropriateness of feminine characteristics in the social situation and masculine ones in the work situation.

The main effect for situation was also statistically significant in this analysis ($F(1,158) = 29.93, p < .0001$). The behaviors examined in this study were seen as more appropriate in work than social situations, with means of 11.57 and 10.87, respectively.

The main effect for sex characteristic was significant for both perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome. The appropriateness and outcome level for the feminine behaviors were higher than those for the masculine ones, with the difference between the means for the outcome variable considerably higher than for perceived appropriateness. Whereas the mean perceived appropriateness was 10.97 for masculine characteristics and 11.47 for feminine ones ($F(1,158) = 4.81, p < .05$), the mean perceived outcome level was 14.42 for the feminine behaviors and only 6.39 for the masculine ones ($F(1,158) = 176.55, p < .0001$).

As with perceived appropriateness, the analysis for the outcome variable also showed an interaction between situation and sex

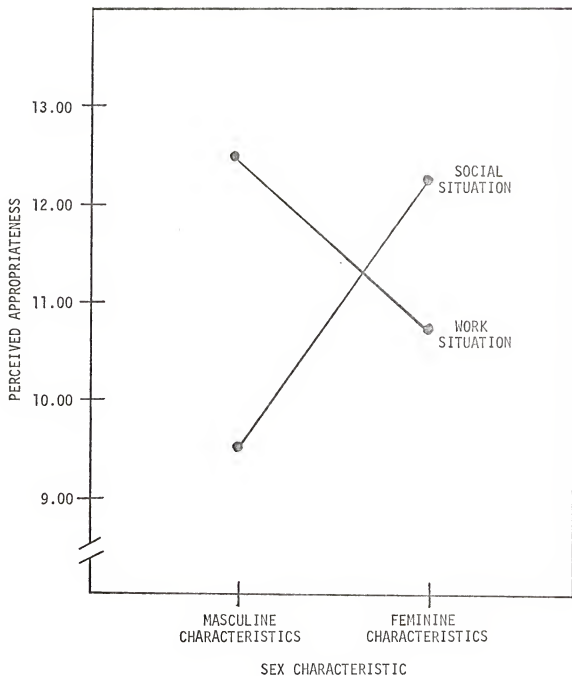


Figure 2. Mean Perceived Appropriateness as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic.

characteristic ($F(1,158) = 38.16, p < .0001$). As shown in Figure 3, feminine behaviors were seen as yielding higher outcomes in the social situation and the converse was true for masculine characteristics. All means in this analysis were significantly different from each other in a post hoc analysis ($p < .05$).

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis proposed a relationship between the perceived appropriateness of a behavior and the outcome level it is seen as producing. It was expected that behaviors included in a woman's sex role perception would be seen as yielding higher outcomes relative to other characteristics. Two analyses were conducted to test this hypothesis. In the first total perceived appropriateness scores (across all characteristics and all situations) were divided into three approximately equal groups (low/medium/high). A $3 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA for repeated measures (unequal n) was performed using perceived appropriateness, situation, and sex of characteristic as the independent measures and perceived outcome as the dependent variable. The results indicated that perceived appropriateness was significantly related to perceived outcome ($F(2,157) = 9.21, p < .0004$). Figure 4 shows that, as total perceived appropriateness increases, perceived outcome does also. A post hoc analysis indicated that the perceived outcome for the low appropriateness group was significantly lower than that of the other two groups ($p < .05$).

Since the above analysis required the use of total perceived appropriateness scores, four Pearson r correlations were calculated

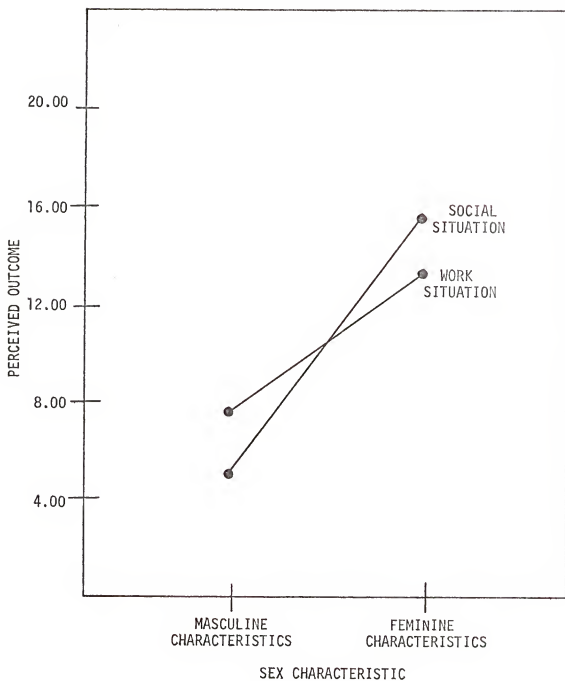


Figure 3. Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic.

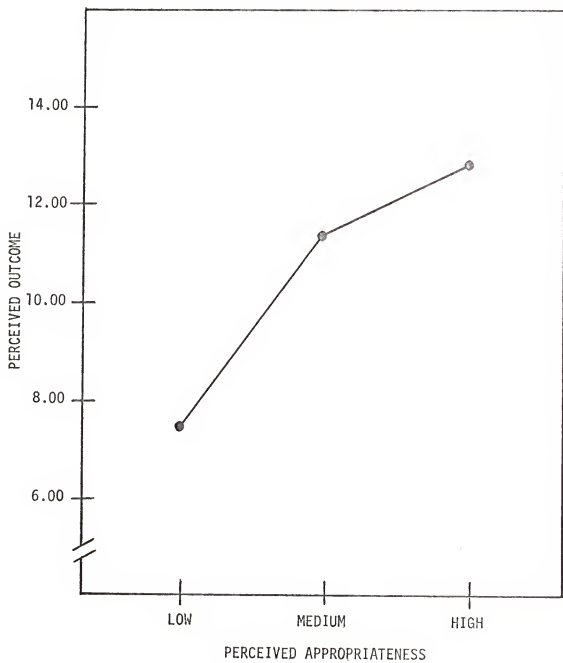


Figure 4. Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Perceived Appropriateness.

to determine whether the relationship between perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome held for each type of characteristic in each situation. The correlation between perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome for the masculine characteristics was .25 ($p < .002$) in the social situation and .17 ($p < .05$) for the work situation. For the feminine characteristics the correlation was .43 ($p < .0001$) for the social situation and .42 ($p < .0001$) for the work setting. These correlations for masculine and feminine characteristics were significantly different from each other for both the social ($p < .04$) and work ($p < .01$) situations.

In general the data indicated that, as suggested by Hypothesis 1, the perceived appropriateness of sex role behaviors was closely related to the perceived outcome for these behaviors. Moreover, this association was strongest for feminine sex role behaviors.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis suggested that women with a high comparison level, in that they must maintain higher outcome levels to achieve satisfaction, perceive both positive masculine and positive feminine behaviors as appropriate. Two analyses were performed to examine the effect of comparison level on the perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome for sex role behaviors. Comparison level scores for the two situations were summed and divided into three equal groups (low/medium/high). Two $3 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs for repeated measures were performed using comparison level, situation, and sex of characteristic

as the independent measures and perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome as the dependent variables. In order to obtain equal cell sizes, 58 subjects were randomly dropped from the analysis.

On the basis of Hypothesis 2 it was predicted that the main effect for comparison level and the interaction between sex and comparison level would prove statistically significant for both perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome. High comparison level subjects were expected to see both masculine and feminine behaviors as yielding high outcomes. The data showed that this was clearly not the case for perceived appropriateness. However, the interaction between comparison level and situation, although only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(2,99) = 2.44$), showed an interesting trend, with high comparison level subjects having higher perceived appropriateness scores for the work situation than other women ($p < .05$). The means for the low, medium, and high groups were 11.18, 11.07, and 12.12, respectively. High comparison level subjects either 1) saw behaviors as more appropriate in this situation than other women, or 2) saw more behaviors as appropriate.

In the perceived outcome analysis the main effect for comparison level was, once again, not significant. The interaction effect for comparison level and sex was significant, but only at $p < .10$ ($F(2,99) = 2.91$). As demonstrated by Figure 5, perceived outcome was related to comparison level for the feminine characteristics only. The post hoc test indicated that the high comparison level group was char-

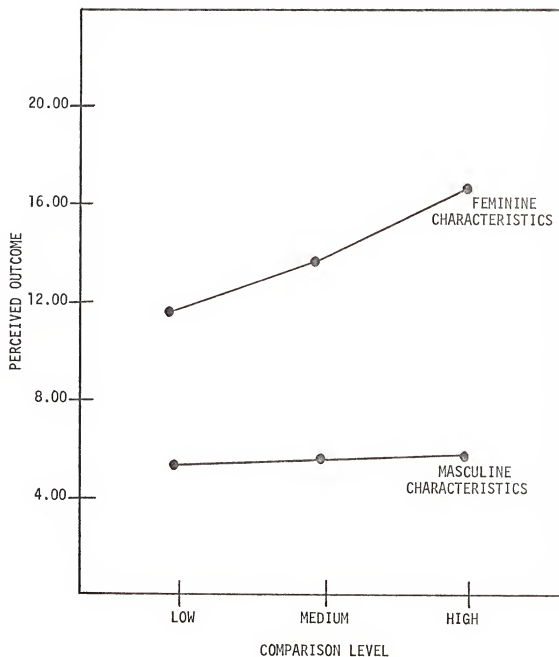


Figure 5. Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Comparison Level and Sex Characteristic.

acterized by higher perceived outcome scores for the feminine characteristics than other groups ($p < .05$).

Although the second hypothesis was not confirmed since high comparison level subjects were not more likely to incorporate both masculine and feminine characteristics into their sex role perceptions, some interesting relationships were suggested by the data. High comparison level women clearly expected higher outcomes than other women for feminine behavior and, in conjunction with this, had higher perceived appropriateness scores for the work situation.

The Complexity of Sex Role Perceptions

The two dimensions of sex role complexity examined in this study were situational and characteristic complexity. Situational complexity represented the number of behavior alternatives in the sex role perception, whereas characteristic complexity reflected the actual number of behaviors included in the role perception. The data indicated that these two dimensions of role complexity were independent of each other. The Pearson r correlation for the z scores of these two variables was .06 ($p < .54$), and the Spearman rank order correlation between the high/low placement of each subject on these variables was .08 ($p < .65$).

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis proposed that women with high situational complexity are more likely than other women to see outcome levels as varying with the situation. To examine the validity of this hypothesis two analyses were conducted.

First, it was predicted that the correlation between perceived outcome scores for the two situations would be lower for subjects with high situational complexity. However, the Pearson r correlations for these subjects were .46 for the masculine characteristics and .56 for the feminine ones; for the subjects with low situational complexity these correlations were .54 and .55, respectively. The data, then, do not support this prediction.

Before rejecting the hypothesis a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA for repeated measures (unequal n) was performed using situational complexity, sex role perception group (combined across situations), and situation as the independent measures and perceived outcome as the dependent variable. On the basis of the third hypothesis a situational complexity by situation interaction was predicted, with women in the high complexity group showing a greater difference in perceived outcome across the two situations than those in the low group. Although this interaction was statistically significant ($F(1,156) = 4.93, p < .05$), Figure 6 demonstrates that the difference did not appear as predicted. Women with high situational complexity showed a 2.18 point difference in perceived outcome across the two situations, whereas women in the low group had a 2.82 point difference. A post hoc test indicated that the interaction was due to differences in perceived outcome for the high and low groups in the work situation ($p < .05$). Women who perceived fewer behavior alternatives for women (low situational complexity) had higher perceived outcome levels for the work situation.

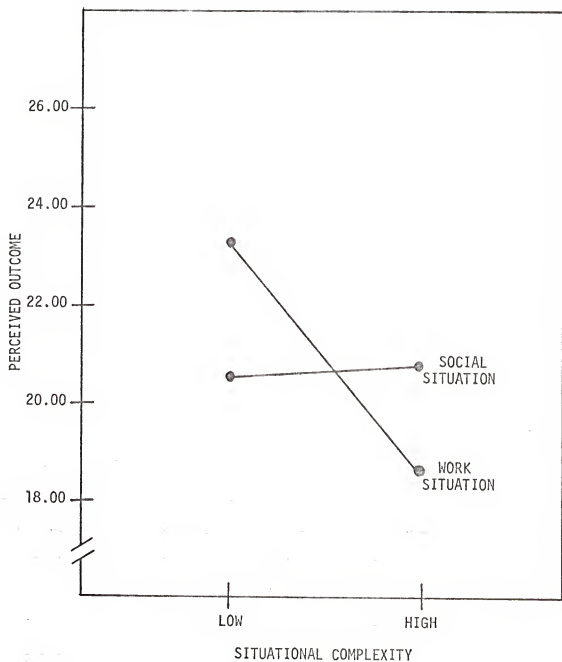


Figure 6. Mean Perceived Outcome as a Function of Situational Complexity and Situation.

Another interaction in the analysis (situational complexity by sex role perception by situation) helps to clarify these results. Although the interaction was only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,156) = 2.69$), a post hoc test showed that low situational complexity women with a masculine sex role perception saw significantly higher outcome levels as available in the work situation ($p < .05$). The means for this analysis are shown in Table 4. Of those women with a masculine sex role perception overall, those who perceive fewer behavior alternatives for women expect a higher outcome level in work situations.

It is clear from these analyses that the third hypothesis was not supported by the data. The results, however, raise some interesting questions concerning women with low situational complexity.

Hypothesis 4

The fourth hypothesis proposed that women with high characteristic complexity perceive more behaviors as yielding high outcomes for women. Subjects having a greater number of behaviors in their role perception were expected to perceive higher outcome levels for sex role behaviors.

This hypothesis was examined with a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA for repeated measures. Characteristic complexity scores were divided into two approximately equal groups (high/low) and two subjects were dropped to yield an equal n design. Characteristic complexity, situation, and sex of the characteristic were used as independent measures and perceived outcome was the dependent variable. As predicted, a main effect for characteristic complexity was evident ($F(1,156) = 5.69$, $p < .05$). Women who saw a wider range of sex role behaviors as

TABLE 4

MEAN PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY,
SEX ROLE PERCEPTION, AND SITUATION

	LOW SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY		HIGH SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY	
	SOCIAL	WORK	SOCIAL	WORK
FEMININE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION	20.60	21.67	20.17	20.38
MASCULINE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION	20.25	25.52	20.22	16.00

appropriate for women had a mean perceived outcome level of 11.70 for these behaviors, whereas women with more simple role perceptions had a mean perceived outcome of 9.15. It can be concluded that the data support the fourth hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5

The fifth hypothesis proposed a positive relationship between role complexity and tolerance for complexity in the personality. A $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA (unequal n) was performed to examine the relationship of characteristic and situational complexity to tolerance for complexity. In this analysis high/low groups for each type of complexity were used as independent measures and sex of pretester was used as a control variable. No significant differences appeared in this analysis. A 2×2 ANOVA was also performed with overall complexity and sex of pretester as the classification variables. Once again, no significant differences appeared. It can be concluded that the fifth hypothesis is invalid since tolerance for complexity in the personality was not related to role complexity.

The Relationship Between Sex Role Perceptions and Enactments

Several ANOVAs were performed to assess the effect of perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome on the enactment of masculine and feminine sex role behaviors. Subjects were divided into three approximately equal groups (low/medium/high) for total perceived appropriateness and total perceived outcome. In each analysis either perceived appropriateness or perceived outcome was used as an independent measure and repeated measures were done for masculine and

feminine behaviors in social and work situations. The results showed no significant main effect for either appropriateness or outcome level. A main effect for situation was evident, with a mean of 11.63 behaviors performed in the social situation and 14.85 in the work situation ($F(1,157) = 81.52, p < .0001$). Moreover, the interaction between situation and sex characteristic was also significant ($F(1,157) = 112.19, p < .0001$). As shown in Figure 7, masculine characteristics were more likely than feminine ones to occur in the work situation ($p < .05$), but both types of behaviors occurred with near equal frequency in the social setting.

Hypothesis 6

The sixth hypothesis proposed that women who engage in behavior inconsistent with their sex role perception perceive higher outcome levels as associated with these behaviors. Subjects were divided into two equal groups (high/low) on the basis of the number of inconsistent behaviors occurring in the social and work situations, and 38 subjects were randomly dropped to leave an equal number of subjects in each cell. A 2×2 ANOVA for repeated measures was then done, using number of inconsistent behaviors and situation as independent measures and perceived outcome as the dependent variable. Since none of the effects involving inconsistency were statistically significant, it can be concluded that the sixth hypothesis is not valid.

Hypothesis 7

The seventh hypothesis suggested that, in a public situation, a woman who is offered a specific reward level for behavior

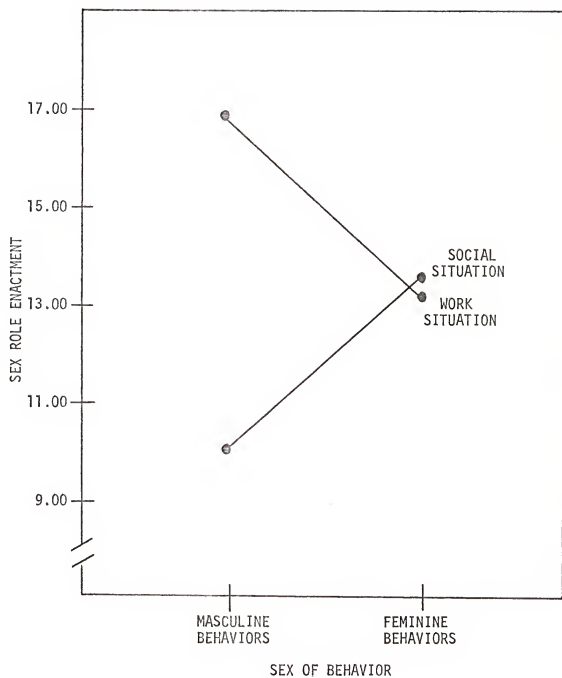


Figure 7. Mean Sex Role Enactment as a Function of Situation and Sex Characteristic.

inconsistent with her sex role perception will be less likely to perform it. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that inconsistent behavior is more costly in a public setting. To test this hypothesis, $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs for repeated measures were performed separately for each situation. Publicness, consistency of expected rewarded behavior with the sex role perception, and type of characteristic (consistent/inconsistent) were used as independent measures and interaction order as a control variable. Sixteen subjects were dropped from the analysis to create an equal n design, and frequency counts for the enactment of consistent and inconsistent behaviors constituted the dependent variable. For the work situation, a three-way interaction between publicness, expected rewarded behavior, and type of characteristic was predicted with women in the public condition expected to enact fewer inconsistent behaviors in response to the inconsistent tape. This interaction effect was not significant in either situation, but several other results were found which are of interest.

In the social situation, behaviors consistent with the sex role perception were more likely to occur than inconsistent behaviors ($F(1,136) = 19.09, p < .0001$). The mean for consistent behaviors was 12.58 and that for inconsistent behaviors was 10.49. A similar pattern was found in the work situation, with a mean of 15.50 consistent behaviors and 14.27 inconsistent ones occurring. However, this difference was only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,136) = 3.53$).

The interaction between consistency of expected rewarded behavior, interaction order, and type of characteristic was also significant in the social situation ($F(1,136) = 4.75$, $p < .05$), and the mean scores for this analysis are presented in Table 5. The post hoc test indicated that, when the social interaction immediately followed the playing of the tape, the number of inconsistent behaviors performed by women who expected rewards for these behaviors was less than when the social interaction was delayed ($p < .05$).

In the work situation the interaction between publicness and type of characteristic was significant, but only at $p < .10$ ($F(1,136) = 3.74$). A post hoc test indicated a significant difference ($p < .05$) between the number of consistent and inconsistent behaviors occurring in the nonpublic condition. As shown in Figure 8, consistent behaviors occurred more frequently than inconsistent ones in the nonpublic condition, but no difference was found in the public condition.

On the basis of these analyses it is concluded that the publicness of the interaction did not decrease the number of inconsistent behaviors performed to obtain a high outcome level. However, the publicness of the interaction clearly had another type of influence on the number of consistent and inconsistent behaviors enacted. In a public situation subjects tended to enact both consistent and inconsistent behaviors.

Hypothesis 8

The eighth hypothesis suggested that a woman who has received a high amount of social approval prior to an interaction would be less

TABLE 5

MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED
IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF EXPECTED
REWARDED BEHAVIOR AND ORDER OF INTERACTION

	EXPECTATION THAT CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED		EXPECTATION THAT INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED	
	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL
CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	12.54	12.67	12.76	12.37
INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	11.36	10.39	8.78	11.45

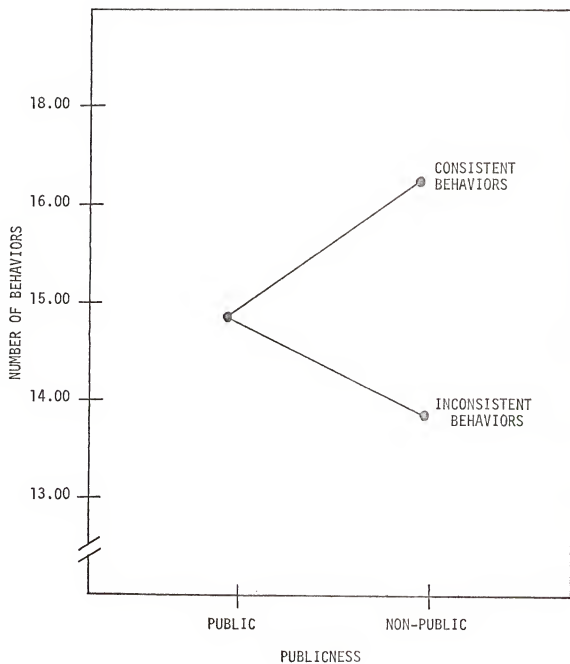


Figure 8. Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of the Publicness of the Interaction.

likely to perform behaviors inconsistent with her sex role perception since she is less motivated to receive more social approval. Several $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs (unequal n) for repeated measures were performed to test this hypothesis. Fourteen subjects were randomly dropped from the original sample and ANOVAs were performed separately for the work and social situations. The independent measures used in these analyses were the amount of prior approval, consistency of expected rewarded behaviors with the sex role perception, interaction order, and type of characteristic. Frequency counts for consistent and inconsistent behaviors constituted the dependent variable. It was predicted that the interaction between approval, expected rewarded behavior, and type of characteristic would indicate that women expecting inconsistent behaviors to be rewarded would perform fewer of these behaviors in the approval condition. This prediction was not confirmed in either the social or work situations, indicating that no satiation with social approval occurred.

Several other relevant findings were evident, however, especially for the social situation. As shown in Figure 9, women who received social approval during the first interaction enacted considerably more behaviors consistent with their sex role perception than inconsistent behaviors; women in the disapproval condition performed more inconsistent behaviors ($F(1,138) = 4.23, p < .05$). The mean for the performance of consistent behaviors in the approval condition was significantly different from all others in a post hoc test ($p < .05$).

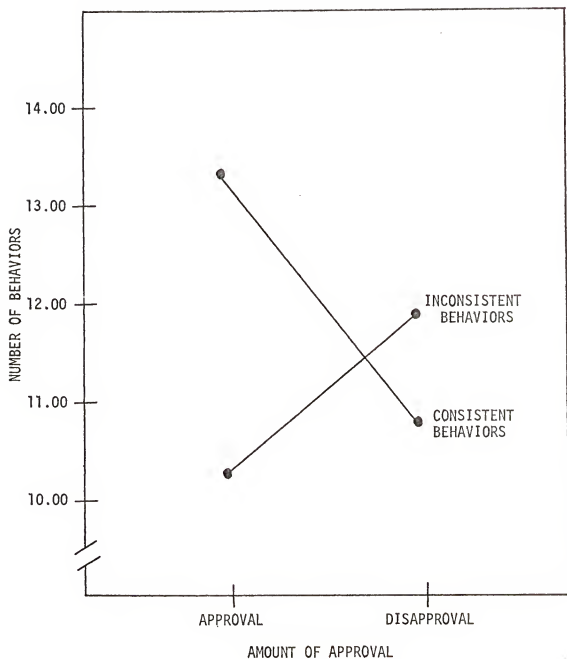


Figure 9. Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Amount of Prior Approval.

Although it was only significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,138) = 3.28$), the four-way interaction in this analysis was also interesting. The means for this interaction can be found in Table 6. The post hoc test ($p < .05$) indicated that, in the approval condition, significantly more consistent than inconsistent behaviors occurred in two cases: 1) when the tape indicated consistent behaviors would be rewarded and the social interaction did not occur until after another task was completed, and 2) when the tape indicated inconsistent behaviors would be rewarded and the interaction occurred immediately. In the disapproval condition, none of the pairwise comparisons between the mean number of consistent and inconsistent behaviors proved significant.

The analysis for the work situation indicated no strong effects, but the interaction between amount of prior approval and type of characteristic was significant at $p < .10$ ($F(1,138) = 3.30$). As shown in Figure 10, subjects in the approval condition, in comparison with those who received disapproval from the first confederate, performed more consistent than inconsistent behaviors. No significant differences, however, were found with a post hoc analysis. The trend for the work situation was similar to that presented in Figure 9 for the social setting, with the exception that subjects in the disapproval condition performed more consistent than inconsistent behaviors in the work situation, whereas more inconsistent behaviors were performed by these subjects in the social situation.

TABLE 6

MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN
THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF AMOUNT OF PRIOR
APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND
ORDER OF INTERACTION

	<u>APPROVAL</u>			
	EXPECTATION THAT CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED		EXPECTATION THAT INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED	
	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL
CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	13.28	12.89	14.17	13.16
INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	12.54	8.87	8.22	11.50
	<u>DISAPPROVAL</u>			
	EXPECTATION THAT CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED		EXPECTATION THAT INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED	
	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL	SOCIAL-WORK	WORK-SOCIAL
CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	12.51	12.28	10.81	11.67
INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	10.30	11.57	9.11	11.86

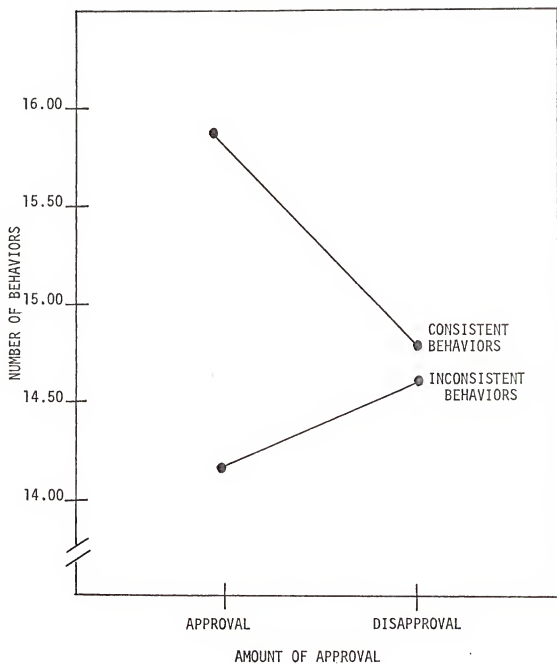


Figure 10. Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of Amount of Prior Approval.

On the basis of these analyses, it is clear that the amount of prior approval did not influence the performance of consistent and inconsistent behaviors as predicted. Instead, social approval had a general effect of increasing the performance of consistent behaviors, and disapproval appeared to increase the performance of inconsistent behaviors.

Hypothesis 9

The ninth hypothesis suggested that women with a high comparison level, in that they must maintain a higher outcome level to achieve satisfaction, are more likely to engage in inconsistent behavior in order to augment their outcome level. A number of analyses were performed to test this hypothesis. Repeated measure analyses (unequal n) were performed separately for the work and social situations and three $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVAs were performed in each situation. It was necessary to randomly select 60 subjects for each analysis to create a balanced design. Comparison level scores for the social and work settings were summed and this value was placed in one of three groups (high/medium/low). This variable was used as an independent measure in each analysis, along with the consistency of the expected rewarded behavior with the sex role perception, and type of characteristic. Publicness, amount of approval, and interaction order were controlled in separate analyses. The results of the analyses controlling for interaction order will be focused upon in this discussion, and findings from the other analyses will be mentioned where relevant. In each analysis it

was predicted that a significant interaction between comparison level, consistency of expected rewarded behavior, and type of characteristic would occur. Women with a high comparison level were expected to perform more inconsistent behaviors in response to the inconsistent tape.

This prediction was confirmed for the social situation ($F(2,48) = 3.84, p < .05$), as shown in Table 7, but did not prove true for the work situation. Of the women who heard a tape advocating behaviors inconsistent with their sex role perceptions, high comparison level subjects were more likely to perform these behaviors in the social setting. Although the pairwise comparison for these means was not significant at $p < .05$, the post hoc test did indicate that women with low comparison levels were more likely to perform consistent than inconsistent behaviors when the tape indicated probable approval for such behaviors.

Several other findings in the social situation help to further delineate the effect of comparison level on behavior. Although the analysis controlling for interaction order showed a difference at only $p < .10$ ($F(2,48) = 2.75$), the interaction between comparison level and type of characteristic was clear when the amount of approval ($F(2,48) = 3.70, p < .05$) and the publicness of the interaction ($F(2,48) = 3.11, p < .05$) were controlled. Figure 11 shows that women with a high comparison level were most likely to perform inconsistent behaviors, and those with a low comparison level were most likely to perform consistent behaviors. Whereas low comparison

TABLE 7

MEAN NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION
AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR

	EXPECTATION THAT CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED				EXPECTATION THAT INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS WILL BE REWARDED		
	LOW COMPARISON LEVEL	MEDIUM COMPARISON LEVEL	HIGH COMPARISON LEVEL		LOW COMPARISON LEVEL	MEDIUM COMPARISON LEVEL	HIGH COMPARISON LEVEL
CONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	19.48	13.30	9.90		11.80	11.27	14.43
INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS	7.70	10.09	10.17		10.09	10.15	12.83

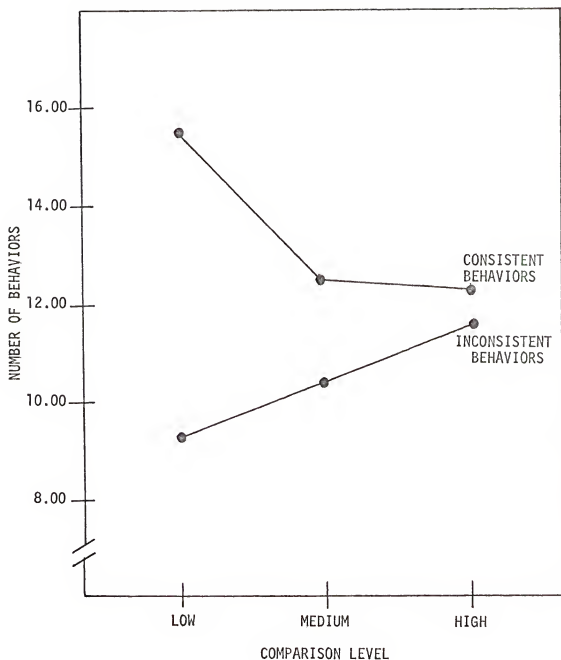


Figure 11. Mean Number of Consistent and Inconsistent Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level.

level subjects performed significantly more consistent than inconsistent behaviors ($p < .05$), this was not true for the other two groups.

The interaction between comparison level and expected rewarded behavior is also of interest, although it was significant at only $p < .10$ ($F(2,48) = 2.86$). Figure 12 demonstrates that there was a negative relationship between comparison level and the number of behaviors occurring during the interaction. When the subjects expected inconsistent behaviors to be rewarded, high comparison level women were more likely to enact a high number of behaviors ($p < .05$).

Another trend found in the social situation indicated an interaction between comparison level and interaction order ($F(2,48) = 2.86$, $p < .10$). Women with low comparison levels enacted a greater number of behaviors in the social situation if the interaction occurred before the task session, whereas the opposite was true for the high comparison level women ($p < .05$). Figure 13 demonstrates this relationship.

Only one result of interest was attained in the work situation. As shown in Figure 14, an interaction between comparison level and amount of social approval occurred ($F(2,48) = 5.39$, $p < .008$). The number of behaviors performed by women with low comparison levels was not influenced by the amount of prior approval. In contrast, the post hoc analysis showed that high comparison level women enacted more behaviors in an interaction following social approval and women with a moderate comparison level performed their highest number of behaviors after receiving disapproval from the first confederate ($p < .05$).

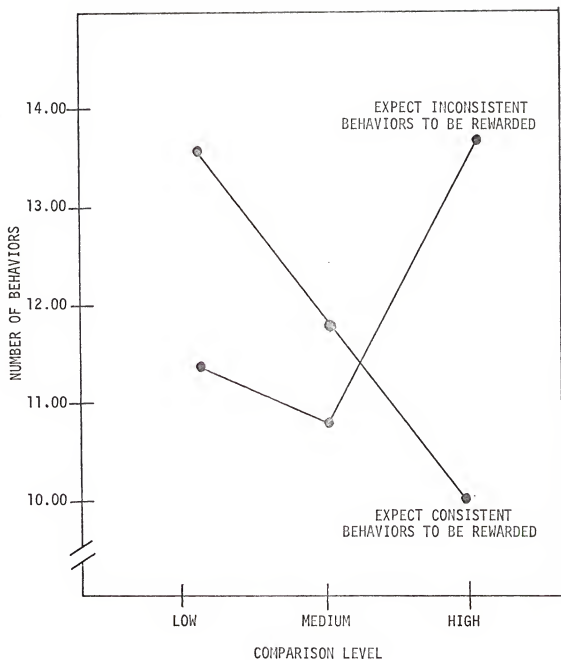


Figure 12. Mean Number of Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Expected Rewarded Behavior.

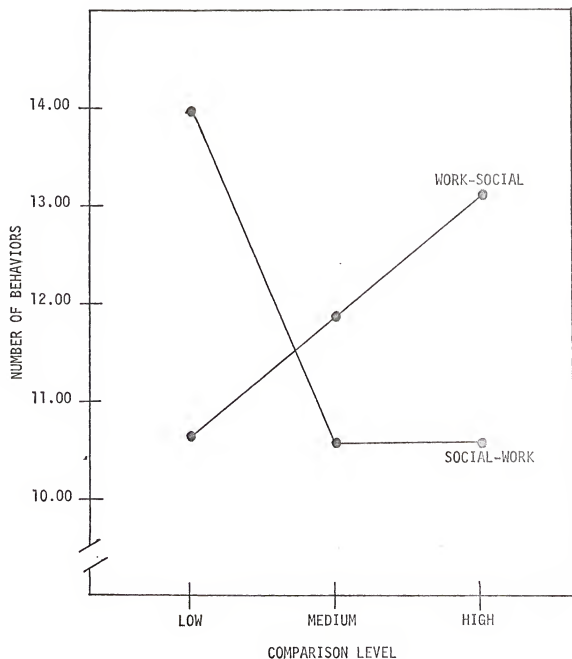


Figure 13. Mean Number of Behaviors Performed in the Social Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Order of Interaction.

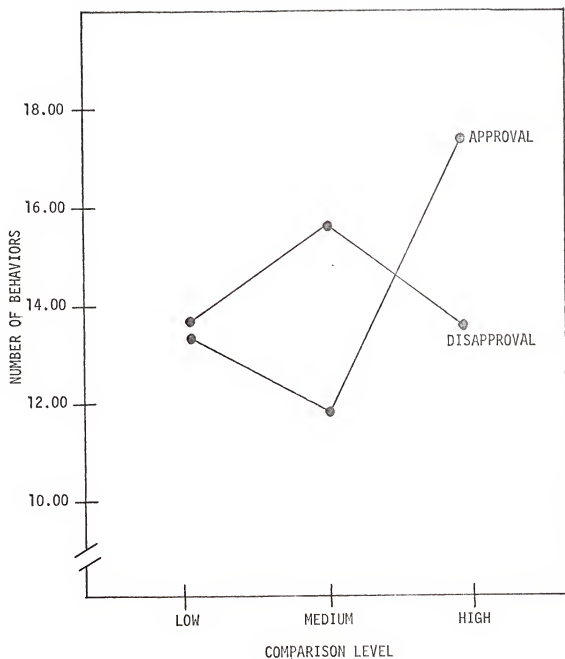


Figure 14. Mean Number of Behaviors Performed in the Work Situation as a Function of Comparison Level and Amount of Prior Approval.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The results of the study clearly support a social reinforcement orientation to role perceptions and enactments. The data are consistent with an exchange theory interpretation, and suggest that behavioral outcomes influence both beliefs concerning appropriate behavior patterns and the performance of role related behaviors. Although the data do not support several of the specific hypotheses in the study, a trend in support of an exchange theory orientation is clearly evident. Behaviors included in the sex role perception are those that a woman sees as producing relatively high outcome levels, and these behaviors are more likely than others to be performed in an unstructured interaction. Moreover, sex role enactments are also influenced by the possibilities for attaining high outcomes in each specific interaction and the past outcome history of the woman.

The Content of Sex Role Perceptions

The results of this study show a strong relationship between the perceived appropriateness of a behavior and the outcome level seen as resulting from it. Behaviors included in the sex role perception tend to be those which have a good probability of producing outcomes which have high subjective utility or value to the individual. Therefore, the hypothesis that role perceptions are comprised of

behaviors which generally yield high outcomes is clearly supported. It is likely that sex role perceptions constitute personal guidelines or rules for maintaining a high outcome level in social interaction.

The relationship between perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome is strongest for the feminine characteristics. It may be that women have considerable experience with these behaviors from an early age and develop clear ideas concerning their probable outcomes. Parents are less likely to encourage young girls to perform masculine behaviors, and it may be that college age women have not experimented (or have only begun to experiment) with them. If this is so, a woman's knowledge of the outcomes associated with feminine behaviors and her beliefs concerning the appropriateness of these characteristics are likely to be more stable and show a higher correlation with each other.

Although it was hypothesized that women with a high comparison level perceive masculine and feminine behaviors as equally appropriate, the data clearly indicate that this is not so. However, comparison level, which is based on past outcomes, does influence the appropriateness of behaviors in the work situation and the perceived outcome for feminine characteristics. Relative to other females, women who report high past outcomes see more behaviors as appropriate in the work situation, and see feminine characteristics as generally producing higher outcome levels. Possibly these women are more likely than others to enact both masculine and feminine behaviors in work situations rather than relying solely on masculine traits. Because they have two potential sources for positive

outcomes, these women would probably achieve a higher outcome level than those who concentrated on one set of behaviors.

Comparison level, then, is related to the perceived appropriateness and outcome level for sex role behaviors, but the pattern is not as strong as predicted. One factor which may be contributing to this problem is the high consensus among subjects concerning the appropriateness and probable outcomes of behaviors. Feminine characteristics are clearly seen as more appropriate in social situations and masculine ones in work settings. Although some individual variation occurs, evidence of a general role expectation for women is clear. College women agree as to what is expected of females in work and social settings. A similar pattern is evident for perceived outcomes, with the expected outcome for masculine and feminine behaviors varying with the situation. Moreover, feminine characteristics are seen as producing higher outcomes for women than masculine ones in both situations. Since all the subjects were of similar social background and age, it is not surprising that their role perceptions and expected outcomes are similar.

Summary

... A general role expectation for females is evident in the data, but some variation in role perceptions is also clear. On the individual level, women see behaviors which generally produce high outcomes as more appropriate than other behaviors. As exchange theory suggests (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959), behaviors which repeatedly

yield positive outcomes acquire a sense of "rightness" and constitute rules for attaining high outcome levels in social interaction.

The Complexity of Sex Role Perceptions

It was originally proposed that the complexity of sex role perceptions is related to the outcome structure for sex role behaviors. The data relevant to this hypothesis are conflicting, with characteristic complexity (the number of behaviors in the role perception) varying as a function of total outcome level, and situational complexity (the number of behavior alternatives in the role perception) not related to the outcome structure. Moreover, the tolerance for complexity in the personality is not related to the complexity of the role perception.

It was hypothesized that the number of behaviors in the role perception depends on the outcome level the woman sees as available for these behaviors. Based on exchange theory, it was expected that women who see a greater number of behaviors as appropriate for females perceive a higher outcome level as available for these behaviors. Since the data are consistent with this hypothesis, exchange principles appear to be supported within this dimension of role complexity.

The other dimension of role complexity, situational complexity, is not related to the expected outcome structure. It was proposed that women who include more alternatives in their sex role perception see outcomes as varying with the situation. The data do not support this hypothesis, but other patterns are evident. Women with a

masculine sex role perception see higher outcomes as probable in work situations when they have low situational role complexity than when they have high situational complexity.

Feminine behaviors are generally seen as less appropriate in work situations than masculine ones. One could speculate that women with a low number of behavior alternatives, in that they are less likely to differentiate appropriateness as a function of the situation, might enact more feminine behaviors in a work setting than other women with masculine role perceptions. Women who see masculine roles as more appropriate than feminine ones can still vary in the balance they maintain between masculine and feminine behaviors. If a woman does not exclude feminine behaviors from her behavioral repertoire for work situations, a higher outcome level can be attained through the performance of two types of positive behaviors.

One of the obvious problems with the examination of role complexity in this study is the operationalization of the concepts. Since the study of role complexity is relatively new, the measures selected for this study tend to be somewhat arbitrary. For this reason, little weight can be given to these findings. The issue needs to be reexamined using different operations to determine the validity of these results. It is possible that the measure of behavior alternatives employed in this study is weak, and a better measure might lie in the balance of masculine and feminine characteristics within a situation.

Summary

Although some of the data relevant to role complexity support an exchange interpretation, the problems with the operationalization of the concept of role complexity preclude drawing any conclusions concerning its validity. Further work on the measurement of dimensions of role complexity is necessary before the relevance of exchange theory to the complexity of role perceptions can be examined.

Sex Role Enactments

Numerous significant findings are evident for sex role enactments in the social situation, but the analyses for the work setting indicate few significant differences. The group role of "team member" for the work situation is a highly structured one, and it may be that the influence of the social role of "woman" is low under these conditions. In a social situation group role demands are less specific and the influence of societal roles is greater.

The results show that behaviors consistent with the sex role perception are performed more often than behaviors inconsistent with the role perception. Role perceptions, then, do function as guidelines for behavior in social interaction. The relative level of perceived appropriateness (low/medium/high) is not, however, related to the frequency of enacting these behaviors. This is not surprising in light of the high consensus among subjects concerning the appropriateness of sex role behaviors. The low, medium, and high groups are probably not very different from each other.

As with perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome, a clear pattern for sex role behavior as a function of situation and sex characteristic is evident. Women perform more masculine behaviors in a work situation than in a social setting, whereas feminine characteristics are enacted equally often in the two situations. It was suggested earlier that, because college age women have had greater experience with feminine behaviors, the perceived appropriateness and perceived outcome for them is likely to be more stable. It is possible that, whereas masculine behaviors are primarily determined by societal role expectations, the perceived appropriateness and expected outcome for the individual subject have a greater effect on the performance of feminine characteristics.

It was originally proposed that fewer behaviors inconsistent with the sex role perception are performed in a public interaction because of the assumed high cost of performing behaviors in public which one believes to be inappropriate. The results suggest that this assumption concerning the high cost of inconsistent behaviors may not have been warranted. In a public work situation, women perform a near equal number of consistent and inconsistent behaviors; in a nonpublic setting consistent behaviors prevail. In the social situation all subjects believed their interaction to be private and, under these circumstances, the manipulation for publicness has no effect on the ratio of consistent to inconsistent behaviors.

These findings, although not predicted, are consistent with exchange theory. In a public setting, an individual is concerned

with impression management as well as with private self-image maintenance. The positive impression one can make on another individual is a source for positive outcomes, even if no face to face interaction occurs. In the public interaction, women were told that their task interaction would be used for class demonstrations. Since the audience probably represents a wide range of opinions, the performance of a wider range of behaviors maximizes the probability of creating a positive impression on the audience. When a woman believes that few people will be aware of her behavior, the primary source for positive outcomes lies in the maintenance of a positive self-image. Under these circumstances women enact more behaviors consistent with their role perception.

Both Homans (1961) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959) suggested that individuals become satiated with specific outcomes (such as social approval) and are, as a result, less likely to perform behaviors which yield these outcomes than other actors. The results of this study clearly do not support this hypothesis. Interactions following social approval are characterized by a high number of behaviors consistent with the sex role perception and a low number of inconsistent behaviors. It seems plausible that, during the first interaction, women select behavior patterns consistent with the sex role perception because they have no information concerning the specific outcome matrix in operation. When social approval occurs during the interaction, these behaviors are reinforced and occur more frequently in subsequent interactions. When the woman encounters disapproval,

the enactment of consistent behaviors is reduced and inconsistent behaviors become more frequent.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) proposed that behaviors which are repeatedly enacted in a situation may become so habitual that they occur reflexively, regardless of the outcome matrix in operation. It may be that a similar process occurs with behaviors which have recently been strongly reinforced. Possibly these behaviors become more primary in the behavioral repertoire and temporarily inhibit the rational choice of a profitable behavior pattern.

Women with a high comparison level have experienced higher outcomes in past interactions than those with a low comparison level. These two groups differ in their reactions to the expectation that consistent or inconsistent behaviors are likely to be rewarded in an interaction. When the expectation that inconsistent behaviors will be rewarded is set, women with a high comparison level are more likely to perform these behaviors than other women. Moreover, they perform more inconsistent behaviors overall. Low comparison level subjects are more likely to perform consistent behaviors when they are likely to be rewarded and, in addition, enact more consistent behaviors overall. In contrast, women with a high comparison level actually enact fewer behaviors consistent with their sex role perception when they expect these behaviors to be rewarded.

One could account for these data by speculating that women with a low comparison level have experienced lower outcome levels because they are less flexible, concentrating on some behaviors to the

exclusion of others. They are very skilled at those behaviors included in their role perception, but do not develop those which they see as less appropriate. Even when offered rewards for doing so, they do not perform these behaviors. Consistent with this interpretation, these women are more active in an interaction when they believe consistent behaviors will be rewarded. In Thibaut and Kelley's terms, low comparison level women may be more likely to develop reflexive behavior patterns because of habitual use of these patterns.

Although women with a high comparison level perform more consistent than inconsistent behaviors, they perform more inconsistent behaviors than other women. Their high outcome history, then, may result from the inclusion of a wider range of behaviors in the behavioral repertoire, or from the avoidance of habitual patterns. Surprisingly, they perform their highest number of behaviors when they expect behaviors inconsistent with their role perception to be rewarded, and are relatively inactive when they expect consistent behaviors to be rewarded. Possibly these women are challenged by the possibility of rewards for behaviors they see as yielding relatively lower outcomes and are more active for this reason.

As an interesting corollary, low comparison level women tend to speak more in a social interaction when it occurs immediately after meeting a man, and less when she has worked with him first. High comparison level subjects are more active when a task precedes the social interaction. Possibly women with a low comparison level are anxious to attain positive outcomes in order to raise their outcome

level. As a result, they engage in more behaviors in an unstructured setting. When it becomes evident that the interaction partner is neutral and not likely to raise the low comparison level, the activity level drops off. High comparison level women may be more concerned with protecting their high comparison level against negative outcomes which would lower it. They perform fewer behaviors initially, but when they are confident the partner will not provide negative outcomes, they become more active in an attempt to maximize positive outcomes.

Summary

The data concerning sex role enactments are generally consistent with an exchange theory interpretation. The hypotheses concerning the enactment of behaviors consistent and inconsistent with the sex role perception are generally not supported by the data, but an examination of the results which did occur indicate that reinforcement principles are clearly operational in determining behavior. A satiation effect for social approval did not occur, somewhat weakening the support for exchange theory, but comparison level was found to have the predicted effect on the performance of behaviors inconsistent with the sex role perception. Numerous other findings also document the influence of comparison level on outcome oriented behavior in dyadic interactions. These findings appear to support an exchange perspective on role enactments, but the operation of this variable in determining behavior is somewhat different from that which was originally suggested.

A Social Learning Theory Interpretation

The present study utilizes a social exchange framework to examine role perceptions and enactments. Although this theoretical orientation is generally used to explain the exchange of rewards and punishments during group interaction (Shaw & Costanzo, 1970), it was used in this instance to examine the beliefs and behavior of a specific actor under controlled conditions. Another social reinforcement theory, Rotter's Social Learning Theory (Rotter, 1967; Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972), is constructed with greater reference to the motivation and expectancies of the individual. This theory also provides a means of interpreting the data generated by this study. The two approaches are strikingly similar and differ primarily in their focus of concern. Whereas exchange theory is especially relevant to group processes, social learning theory concentrates on individual behavior.

Rotter's Social Learning Theory proposes that the potential for any behavior occurring in a situation is a function of the expectancy for reinforcement and the value of reinforcement. In other words, behaviors which have a high probability of producing reinforcement of value to the individual have a better chance of being performed than other behaviors. Reinforcement expectancies develop from experience with behavior-reinforcement sequences and through the process of generalization. These expectancies can be either of a general nature or specific to the situation, with general expectancies being less

important as the amount of experience in the situation increases. Rotter sees situation as a central concept in accounting for complex social behavior, and proposes that individuals seek to maximize positive reinforcements in any situation.

The similarity between this conceptual framework and exchange theory is obvious from the above description. Moreover, Rotter introduces two concepts which are closely related to comparison level. Freedom of movement is defined as the mean expectancy of obtaining positive satisfaction as a result of pursuing a reinforcement, and another social learning concept, minimal goal level, is defined as the lowest goal for some life situation which is perceived by the person as satisfactory.

In terms of the present study, the interpretation social learning theory might give to the data differs only slightly from that provided by exchange theory. To a social learning theorist working with Rotter's orientation, the concepts of role perception and enactment would be somewhat unnecessary. Ideas concerning appropriate behavior patterns could be seen simply as a learned association (reinforcement expectancy) between behavior patterns and social sanctions. The behavior potential derived from general expectancies (perceived outcome), rather than the role perception, could be seen as determining behavior in novel situations. Behavior potentials representing more specific expectancies would then be seen as operational when more information concerning the outcomes specific to the situation is available.

Both social learning theory and exchange theory, then, provide an adequate explanation for the data. However, exchange theory, in that it incorporates the role concept, opens up the possibility for future work on other aspects of role theory. Research focused more specifically on group processes, for example, could more easily employ an exchange perspective to examine the functional value of roles to a group.

Directions for Future Research

The present study constitutes a preliminary examination of the relevance of expected behavioral outcomes to the study of role perceptions and enactments. Further research on this issue is clearly indicated, but several problems occurred in this study which should be corrected if the design is to be used again. The chief problem was the nature of the stimulus tape used to create expectations for rewarded behaviors. The present study employed two extreme tapes which, because they advocated such absolute positions, may not have always had the desired effect. The manipulation check did not indicate the predicted difference and, although a social desirability effect may have occurred, this is clearly a problem. Moreover, the results show that psychological reactance was induced by the tape, clearly limiting the strength of the desired effect. This occurred primarily in the social situation which, as noted previously, allows more variance in behavior.

When the confederate indicated he would give approval for behaviors the subject thought were relatively inappropriate, fewer behaviors

inconsistent with the sex role perception and more consistent behaviors occurred when the interaction followed immediately. When a task session preceded the social interaction, and the subject had the opportunity to discover that the confederate was not really so dogmatic, more inconsistent behaviors were enacted to win his approval. When the confederate indicated approval for behavior consistent with the role perception, a similar pattern was found. The highest number of consistent behaviors occurred when the social interaction was delayed until after the task was completed. The use of a more moderate tape might reduce this effect in future studies. Moreover, it might be better to use a wider variety of tapes in order to manipulate the degree of consistency between the subject's sex role perception and the expected rewarded behavior.

The present study used publicness as a manipulation of cost to test the effect of this variable on the performance of behaviors which are likely to produce high rewards. It is probable that the basic assumption about the costliness of inconsistent behaviors in the public setting is invalid, and that this hypothesis was not really tested as a result. A better manipulation of cost is needed to adequately test this hypothesis.

If the relevance of exchange theory to role perceptions and enactments is to be reexamined, it might also be wise to choose a role other than sex role, or to work with a population more likely to vary in their role perceptions than college women. The high consensus among subjects concerning the appropriateness of sex role

behaviors may have obscured some of the findings. Perhaps the selection of a sample of women from a number of age group populations would serve a dual purpose by both increasing the variance in role perception and enhancing the generalizability of the results.

In addition to taking another look at women's role perceptions for the feminine role, it might also be quite interesting to study men's sex role perceptions and the beliefs of each sex concerning the role of the other. The fact that the relationship between appropriateness and outcome in women is strongest for the feminine characteristics raises some questions concerning what the pattern might be if both male roles and male subjects were also studied.

Future research should also focus on a greater number of situations which differ in the amount of structure provided by the group role. In this way the influence of societal roles on group roles could be more clearly examined. The results of the present study indicate a possible relationship between the amount of structure provided by the group role and the influence of the societal role on it. This poses some interesting questions concerning the inter-relationship of group and societal roles.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS USED IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION

INSTRUCTION SET 1

We are just about ready to start the experiment. Before we begin I'd like to tell you a little bit about what you will be doing in this experiment. You will be asked to form two teams of two persons each to discuss a problem and agree upon a solution to it. Each team will work separately and will have eight minutes to work on each problem. In the course of the experiment you will be asked to deal with two of these problems, working on each problem with a different person. These problems involve real life situations in which a difficult decision must be made in a limited time period. Your discussion of the problem and your final decision will be recorded on tape (pause for several seconds). Because all four of you are now in separate rooms we'll have to do some reshuffling before you actually begin to work. Subjects one and two (that's subject and fictitious name) will remain where they are now for the course of the experiment. Subjects three and four (that's confederate B and confederate C) will be asked to move for each session. Please remain where you are for the moment, though, and someone will come to take you to your new room.

INSTRUCTION SET 2

Before we begin I'd like to ask you to read carefully and sign this informed consent form. It states that I have explained to you what you will be doing in this experiment and that you agree to participate. Public condition: Note also that it says your behavior will be taped. The tape will be used later in the quarter for a Psychology 313 class demonstration.

INSTRUCTION SET 3

This is a tape recording we just made in the other lab with the other two people. I want you to be familiar with how your next partner approaches a problem like this before you work with him. I want you to listen to it very carefully.

INSTRUCTION SET 4

Social-occupational condition: I need to ask you a favor. Could you sit and talk for a couple of minutes? The tape player broke in the other lab and I had to run downstairs to get another one. The other group is a few minutes behind. We need to have everyone at the same point before we go on. It'll just take a few minutes.

Occupational-social condition: I'll take the tasks but I need to ask you a favor. Could you sit and talk for a few minutes? The tape player broke in the other lab and I had to run downstairs to get another one. The other group is a few minutes behind you. We need to have everyone at the same point before we go on. It'll just take a few minutes.

APPENDIX B

TASKS USED IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION

TASK 1

In this task your goal is to decide the order in which a mountain climbing party should proceed through a small pass. The group was on a relatively simple climb when an avalanche blocked the usual descent. Their only chance for survival is to squeeze through a very small pass one at a time and attempt a much more difficult path down the mountain. This pass, however, will weaken as each additional person passes through it and is sure to collapse before all are through. On the sheet provided list the order in which they should proceed. You must agree on the order and will have eight minutes to complete the task.

Climbing Party

Guide	32, male, married with four children ages 5 through 16, works as a guide to climbing parties when he can find work, grew up in the mountains
Son	16, male, single, son of the guide, is being trained as a guide, hopes to become a doctor by working his way through college as a mountain guide
Doctor	63, male, married with three children over 21, gave up a rich practice because he believes he has a possible cure for leukemia
Scientist	45, female, married with three children ages 8 through 17, is in the process of developing a new, cheap source of energy, her research looks very promising
Executive	35, male, married with children 8 and 10, works in New York City, is afraid of heights
Housewife	34, female, married to the executive, has a masters degree in Art from Sarah Lawrence
Ex-student	23, female, daughter of a wealthy Manhattan banker, drop out from Columbia after two years, still associated with radical student elements
Minister	28, male, single, works with ghetto youth
Psychologist	45, female, single, studies reactions to stress, hopes to develop a training program to increase resistance to stress, avid mountain climber with many years experience
Astronaut	29, male, married with two children 4 and 6, wife is deceased, is recovering from a breakdown after his wife's death

TASK 2

In this task your goal is to select seven persons to be saved in a life-raft. These persons are on a New York to Paris flight when their plane crashes into the sea. Only seven persons can be saved; if more are included in the raft all will perish. Your job is to discuss this problem and decide who is to be saved in the liferaft and why. You have eight minutes to decide. Please list the occupants of the liferaft and why they have been saved on the paper provided. All choices must be unanimous.

Passenger List

Salesman	56, male, married with five children ages 9 through 19, going to Israel to help with certain industrial developments, a leader in his community
Black Panther Leader	26, male, married with one child 1 year old, from Chicago, Minister of Information on his way to Europe for youth meetings and a speaking tour
Steward	22, male, single
Longshoreman	47, male, single, was former ship captain, excellent knowledge of the sea, has lead a wild life
Artist	30, female, single, very popular overseas and in the United States, considered by critics to have great potential
Nun	38, female, single, teacher who is a specialist in teaching mentally retarded children
Farmer	43, male, married with four children ages 4, 7, 9, and 11, on his way to Africa to work with A.I.D., excellent hunter and fisherman, former Marine with survival training
Peace Corps Member	24, female, married three months, returning to her post and husband after visiting a sick parent
Narcotics Agent	31, male, married with children 5 and 7, in possession of important names and documents to uncover whole narcotics syndicate on the East Coast, must testify in person to authorities in Paris
Nurse	29, female, single, four months pregnant
Teacher	26, male, single, on leave of absence to study in Paris, great writing potential
Student	21, female, recently elected to Phi Beta Kappa, accepted graduate fellowship, ardent feminist
Child	11, female, crippled from birth, flying to boarding school in France

APPENDIX C

MATERIALS USED TO CONSTRUCT THE PRE-TEST

MASCULINE AND FEMININE BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS
USED IN THE SEX ROLE PERCEPTION AND PERCEIVED OUTCOME SCALES

Masculine Characteristics

Acts as a leader
Aggressive
Analytical
Assertive
Defends Own Beliefs

Feminine Characteristics

Sensitive to the needs of others
Soft spoken
Understanding
Warm
Yielding

POTENTIAL RESPONSES USED IN THE PERCEIVED OUTCOME SCALE

Positive Responses

Admiration
Approval
Attention
Liking
Respect

Negative Responses

Disapproval
Dislike
Rejection
Ridicule
Scorn

Neutral Response

Indifference

FORMAT FOR MEASURING SEX ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Everyone has opinions on what people should be like in various settings. We are interested in knowing what you think women should be like in a work setting. For each trait listed below indicate how appropriate or inappropriate you personally think it is for an adult woman who is working with a man in a work situation by placing an X over one of the five slashes on each line below.

Acts as a leader	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate
.....	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate
Yielding	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate

Everyone has opinions on what people should be like in various settings. We are interested in knowing what you think women should be like in a social setting. For each trait listed below indicate how appropriate or inappropriate you personally think it is for an adult woman who is talking with a man in a social situation by placing an X over one of the five slashes on each line below.

Acts as a leader	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate
.....	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate
Yielding	!-----!-----!-----!-----!
	Very Inappropriate Very Appropriate

FORMAT FOR MEASURING EXPECTED OUTCOMES (CONT'D)

When people engage in conversation with other individuals they can usually anticipate how the other person will react to what they say and do. We are interested in knowing what you would expect a man's response to be if you acted in certain ways when talking with him in an informal or social situation. For each of the behaviors listed below please indicate what you believe to be the probability that he would react in the way listed on the right if you behaved in the way listed on the left. Please do this by placing an X over one of the 11 slashes on each of the lines below. The slashes represent 10%, 20%, 30%, etc. Do not spend too much time on any one item.

<u>Your Behavior</u>	<u>His Response</u>	<u>Probability It Will Happen</u>										
Acts as a leader	admiration	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1
		0%								50%		100%
	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1
		0%								50%		100%
	scorn	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1
		0%								50%		100%

FORMAT FOR MEASURING SUBJECTIVE UTILITY OF CONSEQUENCES

Individuals vary in how much they value certain responses by other people. Please indicate how valuable or important the following responses would be to you if you were working with a man in an occupational situation by placing an X over one of the five slashes on each line.

admiration	----- ----- ----- ----- Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable
.....	----- ----- ----- ----- Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable
scorn	----- ----- ----- ----- Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable

Individuals vary in how much they value certain responses by other people. Please indicate how valuable or important the following responses would be to you if you were talking to a man in an informal or social situation by placing an X over one of the five slashes on each line.

admiration

Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable

.....

Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable

scorn

Very Distasteful Neutral Very Valuable

TOLERANCE FOR COMPLEXITY ITEMS

1. A good job is one where what is to be done and how it is to be done is always clear.
2. In the long run it is possible to get more done by tackling small, simple problems than large and complicated ones.
3. The sooner we all acquire similar values and ideals the better.
4. People who fit their lives to a schedule probably enjoy life the most.
5. It's more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one.
6. Often the most interesting and stimulating people are those who don't mind being original and different.
7. People who insist on a yes or no answer just don't know how complicated things really are.
8. Teachers or supervisors who hand out vague assignments give a chance for one to show initiative and originality.
9. A good teacher is one who makes you wonder about your way of looking at things.

COMPARISON LEVEL ITEMS

1. Thinking back on my past experiences with men in occupational or work situations, I am generally

Very Unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Neither Successful or Unsuccessful	Successful	Very Successful
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2. Thinking back on my past experiences with men in informal or social situations, I am generally

Very Unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Neither Successful or Unsuccessful	Successful	Very Successful
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APPENDIX D

DEFINITIONS AND BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS USED IN
COUNTING AND RATING SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS

DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS USED TO RATE SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS

Acts as a Leader	Performs behaviors associated with leading; i.e., directs, exerts influence, guides.
Aggressive	Is enterprising; attempts to dominate; pursues own ends.
Analytical	Breaks whole into parts; examines things carefully.
Assertive	Is confident; is insistent; is bold in expressing ideas.
Defends own Beliefs	Verbally supports own ideas.
Sensitive to the Needs of Others	Is aware of the needs of others and responds to them.
Soft Spoken	Has a mild or gentle voice and manner; is suave; is tactful.
Understanding	Shows sympathetic and tolerant attitudes.
Warm	Shows and responds to feelings and emotions.
Yielding	Is submissive; is compliant; is flexible.

BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS USED TO COUNT SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS

Acts as a Leader:	leads discussion
	directs action
	summarizes previous discussion
	initiates discussion after pause
Aggressive:	attempts to dominate or coerce other person
	competes with other person in favor of own ends
	interrupts or speaks over the other person
	speaks loudly
Analytical:	strong body movements
	analyzes problem
	organizes approach to problem
	appeals to "logic" or "reason"
Assertive:	reading information aloud about problem
	reviewing progress on the task
	expresses opinion
	states confidence in own opinion
Defends own Belief:	is insistent about own ideas
	refuses to be interrupted when presenting ideas
	maintains own opinion after argument
	expresses idea related to "I think..."
Defends own Belief:	defends own ideas
	offers supporting evidence for own ideas

BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS USED TO COUNT SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS (CONT'D)

Sensitive to the Needs
of Others:

shows awareness of the needs of others
attempts to fulfill the needs of others
shows awareness of the problems of others
shows desire to alleviate the problems of
others
behaves in a way as to alleviate the
problems of others

Understanding:

shows tolerance
indicates comprehension
restates ideas of another in order to
improve understanding
repeatedly nods head while other is speaking
listens attentively
refuses to take offense when provoked

Soft Spoken:

deals with other without friction
attempts to smooth over differences
remains calm during argument
speaks in a soft manner
uses qualifiers such as "possibly, maybe,
it could be..." when expressing opinion
makes a statement in the form of a question

BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS USED TO COUNT SEX ROLE ENACTMENTS (CONT'D)

- Warm:
- shows emotion or feeling
 - responds to emotion or feeling
 - shows awareness of the emotions of another
 - shows empathy with the emotions of another
 - maintains eye contact with other
 - laughs or smiles
- Yielding:
- changes opinion after argument
 - agrees with the opinion of other
 - shows flexibility
 - allows self to be interrupted
 - complies with the command of other,
e.g., "Write that down..."

APPENDIX E
POST-EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

POST-EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

I. What do you think this experiment was about?

II. On the following page please place an X over one of the five slashes on each line to indicate your answers to the questions. For example, if you enjoyed this experiment you might answer the following question in this manner:

How much do you like this experiment?

!-----!-----!-----!-----X
Not at all Very much

POST-EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE (CONT'D)

1. How much do you think your partner in the first task liked you?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much
2. How much do you think your partner in the first task approved of your opinions?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much
3. How much do you think your partner in the second task liked you?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much
4. How much do you think your partner in the second task approved of your opinions?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much
5. How public do you think your behavior was in this experiment?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much
6. How involved were you in the tasks required by this experiment?
!-----!-----!-----!
Not at all Very much

POST-EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE (CONT'D)

7. We'd now like you to think back to the tape recording you listened to earlier. The man on the tape expressed certain opinions about what he thought women "should" be like in a working situation.

First, circle the number of the response below which best expresses the view he supported on the tape.

1. He strongly believed women should act in ways traditionally described as feminine.
2. He slightly believed women should act in ways traditionally described as feminine.
3. He slightly believed women should act in ways traditionally described as masculine.
4. He strongly believed women should act in ways traditionally described as masculine.

Next, please circle the number of the response below which best expresses how the views he expressed compare with your own.

1. His views were strongly inconsistent with my own because they were too weak.
 2. His views were strongly inconsistent with my own because they were too strong.
 3. His views were slightly inconsistent with my own because they were too weak.
 4. His views were slightly inconsistent with my own because they were too strong.
 5. His views were neither consistent nor inconsistent with my own.
 6. His views were slightly consistent with my own.
 7. His views were strongly consistent with my own.
8. How many people do you think will be aware of or will have knowledge of your behavior in this experiment?

!-----!-----!-----!-----!
 Not very many Very many

APPENDIX F
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLES

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND PERCEIVED OUTCOME
AS A FUNCTION OF SEX OF PRETESTER, SITUATION,
AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC

SOURCE	df	PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS		PERCEIVED OUTCOME	
		MS	F	MS	F
Pretester (PT)	1	5.36	.50	358.56	1.97
Subjects (Error)	58	10.65		182.27	
Situation (SIT)	1	79.10	29.93**	5.85	.74
PT X SIT	1	.59	.22	7.57	.71
SIT X Subjects (Error)	58	2.64		53.88	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	40.50	4.81*	10325.62	176.55**
PT X SEX	1	4.39	.52	.05	.00
SEX X Subjects (Error)	58	8.42		58.48	
SIT X SEX	1	772.20	278.63**	938.38	38.16**
PT X SIT X SEX	1	5.16	1.86	.10	.00
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	58	2.77		24.59	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .0001$

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF
PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS, SITUATION, AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Perceived Appropriateness (PA)	2	1531.36	9.21*
Subjects (Error)	157	166.21	
Situation (SIT)	1	5.85	.11
PA X SIT	2	93.72	1.77
SIT X Subjects (Error)	157	53.08	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	10325.62	176.35**
PA X SEX	2	23.94	.41
SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	58.55	
SIT X SEX	1	938.38	37.97**
PA X SIT X SEX	2	3.15	.13
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	24.71	

* $p < .0004$

** $p < .0001$

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS AND PERCEIVED
OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF COMPARISON LEVEL, SITUATION,
AND SEX CHARACTERISTIC

SOURCE	PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS			PERCEIVED OUTCOME	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	17.97	1.74	281.07	1.49
Subjects (Error)	99	10.33		188.95	
Situation (SIT)	1	40.16	15.96**	2.67	.05
CL X SIT	2	6.13	2.44*	58.96	1.06
SIT X Subjects (Error)	99	2.52		55.38	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	26.51	3.09*	7260.60	111.55***
CL X SEX	2	8.05	.94	189.33	2.91*
SEX X Subjects (Error)	99	8.58		65.09	
SIT X SEX	1	588.48	181.45***	739.00	27.17***
CL X SIT X SEX	2	3.97	1.23	15.10	.56
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	99	3.24		27.20	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .0003$

*** $p < .0001$

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR CHARACTERISTIC, SITUATIONAL, AND OVERALL
COMPLEXITY OF SEX ROLE PERCEPTIONS AS A FUNCTION
OF SEX ROLE PERCEPTION

SOURCE	CHARACTERISTIC COMPLEXITY			SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY		OVERALL COMPLEXITY	
	df	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
WORK SITUATION							
Sex Role Perception	1	5.39	4.61**	2.83	2.77**	.07	.95
Subjects Within Groups (Error)	158	184.76		161.33		11.59	
SOCIAL SITUATION							
Sex Role Perception	1	1.23	1.03	5.03	4.99**	.20	2.69*
Subjects Within Groups (Error)	158	1.20		1.01		.07	

Note. z scores used in the analyses.

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

TABLE 12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF
SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, SEX ROLE PERCEPTION,
AND SITUATION

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Situational Complexity (SITCOM)	1	366.06	1.05
Sex Role Perception (SRP)	1	9.68	.26
Subjects (Error)	156	368.83	
Situation (SIT)	1	11.70	.11
SITCOM X SIT	1	513.05	4.93**
SRP X SIT	1	7.48	.78
SITCOM X SRP X SIT	1	279.86	2.69*
SIT X Subjects (Error)	156	104.11	

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF
SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY, SITUATION, AND
SEX CHARACTERISTIC

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Characteristic Complexity (CHARCOM)	1	1026.02	5.69*
Subjects (Error)	156	180.16	
Situation (SIT)	1	12.50	.24
CHARCOM X SIT	1	22.63	.43
SIT X Subjects (Error)	156	53.20	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	10298.29	174.70**
CHARCOM X SEX	1	24.68	.42
SEX X Subjects (Error)	156	58.95	
SIT X SEX	1	906.87	37.57**
CHARCOM X SIT X SEX	1	111.00	4.60
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	156	24.14	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .0001$

TABLE 14

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR TOLERANCE FOR COMPLEXITY AS A FUNCTION
OF SEX OF PRETESTER, SITUATIONAL COMPLEXITY,
AND CHARACTERISTIC COMPLEXITY

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Sex of Pretester (PT)	1	22.92	1.78
Situational Complexity (SITCOM)	1	.72	.06
Characteristic Complexity (CHARCOM)	1	23.67	1.84
PT X SITCOM	1	1.27	.10
PT X CHARCOM	1	.50	.04
SITCOM X CHARCOM	1	8.85	.69
PT X SITCOM X CHARCOM	1	3.11	.24
Subjects Within Groups (Error)	152	9.61	

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR TOLERANCE FOR COMPLEXITY AS A FUNCTION
OF SEX OF PRETESTER AND OVERALL COMPLEXITY

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Sex of Pretester (PT)	1	23.89	1.88
Overall Complexity (COM)	1	7.53	.59
PT X COM	1	12.98	1.02
Subjects Within Groups (Error)	156	14.81	

TABLE 16

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION
OF PERCEIVED OUTCOME

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Perceived Outcome (PO)	2	6.34	.16	.10	.22
Subjects (Error)	157	39.84		.48	
Situation (SIT)	1	1655.31	81.88**	17.30	201.66**
PO X SIT	2	10.15	.50	.05	.58
SIT X Subjects (Error)	157	20.22		.09	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	3.26	.11	.22	1.13
PO X SEX	2	60.47	1.98	.94	4.73*
SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	30.54		.20	
SIT X SEX	1	1948.01	122.21**	7.06	100.71**
PO X SIT X SEX	2	10.17	.59	.03	.40
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	17.36		.07	

* $p < .01$

** $p < .0001$

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION
OF PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Perceived Appropriateness (PA)	2	34.02	.86	.11	.22
Subjects (Error)	157	39.49		.48	
Situation (SIT)	1	1655.31	81.52*	17.30	201.61*
PA X SIT	2	3.22	.16	.05	.56
SIT X Subjects (Error)	157	20.30		.09	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	3.26	.10	.22	1.07
PA X SEX	2	12.54	.40	.13	.61
SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	31.15		.21	
SIT X SEX	1	1948.01	112.19*	7.06	100.65*
PA X SIT X SEX	2	9.91	.57	.02	.35
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	157	17.36		.07	

* $p < .0001$

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE ENACTMENT AS A FUNCTION
OF TAPE HEARD DURING THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Tape (TP)	1	13.71	.34	.08	.18
Subjects (Error)	154	39.78		.47	
Situation (SIT)	1	1542.03	78.98*	16.17	198.54*
TP X SIT	1	31.65	1.62	.05	.62
SIT X Subjects (Error)	154	19.52		.08	
Sex Characteristic (SEX)	1	.83	.03	.27	1.29
TP X SEX	1	26.43	.85	.16	.77
SEX X Subjects (Error)	154	31.06		.21	
SIT X SEX	1	1877.03	108.28*	6.66	94.97*
TP X SIT X SEX	1	21.42	1.24	.03	.33
SIT X SEX X Subjects (Error)	154	17.33		.07	

* $p < .0001$

TABLE 19

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCEIVED OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF
SITUATION AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS
ARE PERFORMED DURING THE EXPERIMENTAL SESSION

SOURCE	df	MS	F
Inconsistent Behaviors (INC)	1	8.00	.07
Subjects (Error)	120	108.70	
Situation (SIT)	1	1057.47	20.32*
SIT X INC	1	16.89	.32
SIT X Subjects (Error)	120	52.14	

* $p < .0001$

TABLE 20

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF THE PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Publicness (PUB)	1	12.26	.52	.02	.08
Consistency (CON)	1	11.41	.48	.08	.27
Order (ORD)	1	9.38	.40	.10	.36
PUB X CON	1	1.58	.07	.01	.02
PUB X ORD	1	30.19	1.27	.26	.95
CON X ORD	1	44.13	1.86	.45	1.63
PUB X CON X ORD	1	10.63	.45	.00	.00
Subjects (Error)	136	23.68		.28	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	313.92	19.09**	2.41	19.75**
PUB X CHR	1	1.69	.10	.00	.03
CON X CHR	1	9.36	.57	.07	.56
ORD X CHR	1	17.38	1.06	.07	.57
PUB X CON X CHR	1	1.40	.08	.01	.10
PUB X ORD X CHR	1	32.81	1.99	.01	.04
CON X ORD X CHR	1	78.10	4.75*	.14	1.13
PUB X CON X ORD X CHR	1	1.68	.10	.09	.70
CHR X Subjects (Error)	136	16.44		.12	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .0001$

TABLE 21

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF THE PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR, AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Publicness (PUB)	1	1.44	.04	.00	.01
Consistency (CON)	1	9.79	.29	.01	.02
Order (ORD)	1	59.50	1.74	.70	2.35
PUB X CON	1	.01	.00	.00	.01
PUB X ORD	1	3.47	.10	.00	.01
CON X ORD	1	5.82	.17	.01	.02
PUB X CON X ORD	1	.86	.03	.05	.18
Subjects (Error)	136	34.24		.30	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	110.55	3.53*	.15	.79
PUB X CHR	1	117.11	3.74*	.38	1.94
CON X CHR	1	44.86	1.43	.22	1.11
ORD X CHR	1	.53	.02	.27	1.38
PUB X CON X CHR	1	20.96	.67	.39	1.99
PUB X ORD X CHR	1	46.42	1.48	.00	.01
CON X ORD X CHR	1	72.25	2.31	.06	.33
PUB X CON X ORD X CHR	1	33.20	1.06	.00	.00
CHR X Subjects (Error)	136	31.29		.20	

* $p < .10$

TABLE 22

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF AMOUNT OF
PRIOR APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR,
AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Approval (APP)	1	22.57	.96	.00	.00
Consistency (CON)	1	15.06	.64	.09	.33
Order (ORD)	1	9.36	.40	.22	.79
APP X CON	1	7.46	.32	.57	2.01
APP X ORD	1	45.83	1.95	.87	3.08*
CON X ORD	1	88.25	3.75**	.77	2.72*
APP X CON X ORD	1	18.92	.80	.79	.28
Subjects (Error)	138	23.55		.28	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	317.22	18.61****	2.60	22.67****
APP X CHR	1	72.16	4.23**	.99	8.65***
CON X CHR	1	1.91	.11	.08	.74
ORD X CHR	1	22.86	1.34	.10	.90
APP X CON X CHR	1	21.56	1.26	.13	1.13
APP X ORD X CHR	1	6.81	.40	.07	.57
CON X ORD X CHR	1	72.32	4.24**	.10	.87
APP X CON X ORD X CHR	1	55.85	3.28*	.06	.50
CHR X Subjects (Error)	138	17.05		.11	

* $p < .10$
 ** $p < .05$
 *** $p < .004$
 **** $p < .0001$

TABLE 23

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF THE
AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR,
AND THE ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Approval (APP)	1	56.20	1.73	.27	.95
Consistency (CON)	1	11.02	.34	.00	.01
Order (ORD)	1	49.78	1.53	1.03	3.58*
APP X CON	1	7.80	.24	.47	1.63
APP X ORD	1	2.89	.09	.23	.79
CON X ORD	1	11.13	.34	.28	.10
APP X CON X ORD	1	71.48	2.20	.01	.02
Subjects (Error)	138	32.45		.29	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	65.31	2.01	.10	.54
APP X CHR	1	106.18	3.27*	1.77	9.71**
CON X CHR	1	42.42	1.31	.14	.78
ORD X CHR	1	1.12	.04	.19	1.02
APP X CON X CHR	1	70.64	2.18	.59	3.22*
APP X ORD X CHR	1	25.12	.78	.07	.39
CON X ORD X CHR	1	99.66	3.07*	.22	1.20
APP X CON X ORD X CHR	1	1.32	.04	.06	.32
CHR X Subjects (Error)	138	32.48		.18	

* $p < .10$

** $p < .003$

TABLE 24

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR,
AND ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	15.16	.46	.27	.90
Consistency (CON)	1	.65	.02	.36	1.19
Order (ORD)	1	1.45	.04	.27	.89
CL X CON	2	93.46	2.86*	.63	2.11
CL X ORD	2	92.68	2.83*	.39	1.31
CON X ORD	1	309.44	9.46****	1.34	4.49**
CL X CON X ORD	2	8.71	.27	.14	.46
Subjects (Error)	48	32.70		.30	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	248.34	9.06****	1.00	8.13***
CL X CHR	2	75.45	2.75*	.12	1.00
CON X CHR	1	89.86	3.28*	.17	1.37
ORD X CHR	1	101.42	3.70*	.19	1.52
CL X CON X CHR	2	105.34	3.84**	.06	.48
CL X ORD X CHR	2	42.81	1.56	.11	.88
CON X ORD X CHR	1	1.54	.06	.09	.76
CL X CON X ORD X CHR	2	23.59	.86	.30	2.42*
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	27.42		.12	

* $p < .10$
 ** $p < .05$
 *** $p < .007$
 **** $p < .004$

TABLE 25

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR,
AND ORDER OF INTERACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	22.43	.65	.50	1.87
Consistency (CON)	1	37.01	1.08	.00	.01
Order (ORD)	1	26.00	.76	.46	1.70
CL X CON	2	11.91	.35	.07	.25
CL X ORD	2	46.14	1.34	.28	1.04
CON X ORD	1	27.10	.79	.15	.56
CL X CON X ORD	2	14.27	.41	.20	.75
Subjects (Error)	48	34.40		.27	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	.64	.02	.14	.68
CL X CHR	2	10.02	.29	.06	.30
CON X CHR	1	175.07	4.99*	.22	1.02
ORD X CHR	1	2.27	.06	.43	2.04
CL X CON X CHR	2	9.14	.26	.19	.92
CL X ORD X CHR	2	13.37	.38	.22	1.06
CON X ORD X CHR	1	16.36	.47	.01	.05
CL X CON X ORD X CHR	2	13.10	.37	.28	1.33
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	35.05		.21	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 26

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION,
AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	16.60	.42	.22	.70
Publicness (PUB)	1	.04	.00	.76	2.49
Consistency (CON)	1	2.17	.06	.58	1.91
CL X PUB	2	22.07	.56	.37	1.23
CL X CON	2	96.74	2.47*	.49	1.62
PUB X CON	1	13.12	.36	.03	.11
CL X PUB X CON	2	21.54	.55	.54	1.78
Subjects (Error)	48	39.12		.30	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	234.28	8.56****	.99	8.51****
CL X CHR	2	84.98	3.11*	.22	1.90
PUB X CHR	1	45.68	1.67	.00	.02
CON X CHR	1	128.48	4.70**	.32	2.76*
CL X PUB X CHR	2	36.80	1.35	.45	3.92**
CL X CON X CHR	2	113.31	4.14***	.02	.19
PUB X CON X CHR	1	19.95	.73	.03	.22
CL X PUB X CON X CHR	2	40.33	1.47	.06	.56
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	27.36		.12	

* $p < .10$
 ** $p < .05$
 *** $p < .025$
 **** $p < .006$

TABLE 27

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, PUBLICNESS OF THE INTERACTION,
AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	25.43	.76	.46	1.44
Publicness (PUB)	1	.00	.00	.33	1.03
Consistency (CON)	1	4.83	.14	.00	.00
CL X PUB	2	18.38	.55	.02	.05
CL X CON	2	59.79	1.76	.00	.01
PUB X CON	1	.48	.01	.09	.28
CL X PUB X CON	2	50.94	1.53	.06	.18
Subjects (Error)	48	33.33		.32	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	.61	.02	.21	1.05
CL X CHR	2	11.99	.39	.11	.56
PUB X CHR	1	155.00	4.99*	.22	1.10
CON X CHR	1	159.37	5.13*	.29	1.45
CL X PUB X CHR	2	38.23	1.23	.35	1.78
CL X CON X CHR	2	2.74	.09	.13	.68
PUB X CON X CHR	1	3.58	.12	.09	.45
CL X PUB X CON X CHR	2	1.57	.05	.01	.07
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	31.08		.20	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 28

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL,
AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	3.24	.08	.28	.73
Approval (APP)	1	.78	.02	.39	.12
Consistency (CON)	1	.33	.01	.42	1.24
CL X APP	2	.64	.02	.25	.72
CL X CON	2	74.91	1.85	.71	2.10
APP X CON	1	66.96	1.65	.17	.50
CL X APP X CON	2	26.43	.65	.40	1.78
Subjects (Error)	48	40.47		.34	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	297.61	10.10***	1.02	10.50***
CL X CHR	2	109.60	3.70**	.32	3.24
APP X CHR	1	15.87	.54	1.15	11.79****
CON X CHR	1	52.01	1.76	.12	1.24
CL X APP X CHR	2	1.88	.06	.02	.24
CL X CON X CHR	2	83.40	2.82*	.04	.40
APP X CON X CHR	1	76.19	2.58	.04	.40
CL X APP X CON X CHR	2	6.79	.23	.05	.49
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	29.58		.10	

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

*** $p < .003$

**** $p < .002$

TABLE 29

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE NUMBER OF CONSISTENT AND INCONSISTENT
BEHAVIORS PERFORMED IN THE WORK SITUATION AS A FUNCTION OF
COMPARISON LEVEL, AMOUNT OF PRIOR APPROVAL,
AND EXPECTED REWARDED BEHAVIOR

SOURCE	FREQUENCY			RATINGS	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Comparison Level (CL)	2	35.35	1.31	.32	1.10
Approval (APP)	1	1.50	.06	.02	.08
Consistency (CON)	1	2.89	.11	.13	.44
CL X APP	2	145.54	5.39*	.86	2.92*
CL X CON	2	4.13	.15	.13	.44
APP X CON	1	23.66	.88	.21	.72
CL X APP X CON	2	21.48	.80	.25	.84
Subjects (Error)	48	27.00		.29	
Type of Characteristic (CHR)	1	.00	.00	.12	.56
CL X CHR	2	15.56	.41	.13	.61
APP X CHR	1	98.40	2.57	1.11	5.12**
CON X CHR	1	100.83	2.64	.11	.49
CL X APP X CHR	2	12.87	.34	.24	1.10
CL X CON X CHR	2	12.03	.31	.00	.02
APP X CON X CHR	1	.03	.00	.28	1.31
CL X APP X CON X CHR	2	44.78	1.17	.16	.72
CHR X Subjects (Error)	48	38.21		.22	

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

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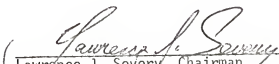
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jamie McCreary Yockey was born on May 20, 1949 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She attended school in West Chester, Pennsylvania and graduated from Bishop Shanahan High School in June, 1967. She received a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Pittsburgh in April, 1971, graduating Summa Cum Laude with a major in psychology. While at Pittsburgh she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.


Ms. Yockey entered the social psychology program at the University of Florida in 1971 and was awarded a Master of Arts degree in August of 1972. From 1971 to 1974 she was the recipient of a NDEA Title IV Fellowship, and is currently a Graduate Teaching Assistant at the University of Florida.

Jamie McCreary Yockey married Robert H. Yockey, Jr. on August 21, 1971.


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Lawrence J. Severy, Chairman
Assistant Professor of Psychology


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Professor of Psychology

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Dorothy D. Nevill
Assistant Professor of Psychology

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Robert C. Ziller
Professor of Psychology